

**THE SOCIAL IMPACTS OF NEW ZEALAND PRISONS
ON THEIR HOST COMMUNITIES:
AN EXAMPLE OF
SOCIAL ASSESSMENT IN PRACTICE**

**A thesis
submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree
of
Master of Arts in Sociology
in the
University of Canterbury
by
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University of Canterbury

2005

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Abstract

This thesis describes and examines research carried out by Taylor Baines & Associates on the social impacts of selected New Zealand prisons on their host communities. Specifically, this thesis aims to provide an insight into social assessment in practice, describe and discuss practice-related issues that arose, and explore issues associated with the use of social assessment as a tool for assessing the social impacts of *existing* projects or policies, as opposed to a tool for assessing the potential social impacts of *proposed* projects or policies.

Taylor Baines' prison research was part of a wider government funded research programme, which investigated the social impacts of solid waste, wastewater, prison, and retail facilities on their host communities. The research on prison facilities included a series of four case studies, which investigated the impacts of Rolleston Prison near Christchurch, Rimutaka Prison in Upper Hutt, Hawkes Bay Prison near Hastings, and Wanganui Prison near Wanganui city. The case studies revealed a range of social impacts (both positive and negative), and highlighted a number of implications for the siting, planning and management of existing and future prisons.

As a key researcher involved in Taylor Baines' research, this thesis enabled the author to provide insight into the approach, process and method used. This insight includes discussion of a number of practice-related issues. One of the key issues to emerge was how to define the concept of 'host community'. The examination of this issue reveals contrasting approaches to its definition, and varying implications for method selection, research findings, and utilisation of research by end users. Another key outcome of this thesis is the proposal for an alternative social assessment process – a process that can be used to assess the social impacts of existing projects and policies.

Introduction

1 Thesis topic

Between 2000 and 2003, Taylor Baines & Associates carried out research into the social impacts of New Zealand prisons on their host communities. A private social research and consultancy firm based in Christchurch, Taylor Baines undertook this research as part of a wider research programme funded by the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology. The author of this thesis was a key researcher in the Taylor Baines' prison research. This thesis provided an opportunity for the author to give an insight into social assessment in practice, to discuss practice related issues that arose during the prison research, and to reflect on the use of social assessment as a tool for assessing the social impacts of *existing* projects or policies rather than as a tool for assessing the potential social impacts of *proposed* projects or policies.

Specifically, the thesis asks the following questions:

- 1) How is an assessment of the social impacts of an *existing* project or policy conducted in practice?
- 2) What practice related issues arose during the prison research?
- 3) What are the issues associated with the use of social assessment as a tool for assessing the social impacts of *existing* projects or policies rather than as a tool for assessing the potential impacts of *proposed* projects or policies?

In addressing these questions, this thesis aims to:

- 1) provide an example of social assessment in practice for others to learn from;

- 2) contribute to the ongoing discussion, debate and evolution of social assessment theory and practice; and to
- 3) further the development and use of social assessment as a tool for assessing the social impacts of *existing* projects and policies.

As such, this thesis will primarily be of interest to students, academics and practitioners. This is in contrast to the Taylor Baines' prison research, which is of particular interest to those concerned with prison planning, siting and management, including host communities, the Department of Corrections, and regional and local authorities.

2 Thesis methods and analysis

The thesis provides an insight into social assessment in practice by:

- describing the prison research that was carried out and reported by Taylor Baines', including the research context, the research question and purpose, the research approach, process and method, and the research findings and implications; and
- including additional detail on the research approach, process and method from the perspective of a key researcher, including how and why research decisions were made, what worked well, what issues were encountered, and how these issues were dealt with.

The thesis examines the practice related issues that arose during the research by:

- describing the issues; and
- discussing the implications for social assessment theory and practice.

The thesis explores the use and benefits of social assessment as a tool for assessing the social impacts of existing projects or policies by:

- describing and discussing any issues that arose in regards to the use of social assessment as a tool for assessing the social impacts of existing projects or policies; and
- noting the benefits of the prison research to date, including how it has been used and by whom.

Access to the information in this thesis was obtained through the author's involvement as one of the key researchers in the Taylor Baines' prison research. As the principal writer on two of the seven reports generated from the Taylor Baines' research and a co-writer on the remaining five reports generated, it was impossible to avoid some repetition of material in this thesis. The discussion contained in this thesis is based on the knowledge gained through the author's involvement, and through an effort to note and record issues and points of interest throughout the Taylor Baines' research process. Information regarding the use of the prison research since its completion was obtained from Taylor Baines.

Analysis of this information was primarily guided by social assessment theory as contained in Taylor, Bryan and Goodrich (2004), a leading text in this area.

3 Thesis structure

The following provides a summary of each remaining chapter in this thesis:

Chapter One provides context and background information relating to Taylor Baines' prison research, and discusses some of the issues surrounding the use of social assessment as a tool for assessing the social impacts of existing projects and policies. A description of Taylor Baines' Facilities Siting and Effects Programme, and Taylor Baines' prison research is provided.

Chapter Two provides further background information by describing the nature of the prisons and the host communities that were the focus of Taylor Baines' case studies. The chapter briefly describes the main features of the prisons and host communities in each case study and summarises the prisons' main characteristics in tabular form. In doing so, the chapter is also an example of social assessment profiling in practice.

Chapter Three outlines the social assessment process, and describes Taylor Baines' case study approach, process and method in the prison research. This provides an insight into social assessment in practice, practice-related issues, and the use of social assessment as a tool for assessing the impacts of existing projects or policies.

Chapter Four summarises the operational and long term effects of the prisons on their host communities and their implications, and follows up on benefits of the prison research to date. This provides an insight into, and example of social assessment in practice, and demonstrates the value and importance of social assessment as a tool to assess the social impacts of existing projects or policies.

Chapter Five re-visits one of the key issues to emerge from the prison research – that of how to define the concept of host community. In particular, this chapter explores the issues surrounding the concept of host community, and some of the implications of varying definitions of the concept for research methods, research findings, utilisation of research, and social assessment theory and practice.

The Conclusion section summarises the thesis aims and content, and draws out and discusses the thesis conclusions with particular reference to the thesis aims – that is, to provide an insight into social assessment, to highlight practice-related issues, and to explore the use of social assessment as a tool for assessing the social impacts of existing projects or policies.

Chapter 1

Taylor Baines' prison research

1.1 Introduction

This chapter provides information on:

- the wider Taylor Baines' research programme from which the prison research emerged (Section 1.2); and
- the prison research programme (Section 1.3).

In doing so, this chapter addresses two aims of this thesis – 1) to provide an insight into social assessment in practice and 2) to explore the issues and benefits associated with the use of social assessment as a tool for assessing the social impacts of existing projects or policies.

1.2 Taylor Baines' Facilities Siting and Effects Programme

Timeframe of the research programme

Taylor Baines' Facilities Siting and Effects Programme ran from July 1997 through to June 2003.

Objectives of the research programme

The research programme had two key objectives:

- 1) to identify historical patterns and trends in facility siting decisions in New Zealand, from the perspective of host communities, and

- 2) to assess the host community experience of the siting and operation of facilities in New Zealand.

Using social assessment to assess the host community experience of the siting and operation of facilities in New Zealand

In order to assess the host community experience of the siting and operation of facilities in New Zealand, Taylor Baines used a method called ‘social assessment’ – a discipline that Taylor Baines specialises in. ‘Social assessment’ is described by Taylor, Bryan and Goodrich as a “process for research, planning and management of change arising from policies and projects” (2004, p. 1). Vanclay expands on this definition by stating that social assessment includes “the processes of analysing, monitoring and managing the intended and unintended social consequences, both positive and negative, of planned interventions (policies, programs, plans, projects) and any social change processes invoked by those interventions”, and that its “primary purpose is to bring about a more sustainable and equitable biophysical and human environment” (2003, p. 11). Vanclay also defines ‘social impacts’, noting that “all issues that affect people, directly or indirectly, are pertinent to social impact assessment” (2003, p.14). Such issues may include changes to way of life, culture, community, political systems, environment, health and well being, personal and property rights, fears and aspirations (Vanclay 2003, p.15).

However, it has not always been recognised that projects or policies can have social effects, and that these effects may need to be managed. It was not until the late 1960s-early 1970s, following a number of environmental ‘disasters’, that it was recognised that changes to the environment could also effect changes to the culture and social organisation of human populations (Burdge and Vanclay 1995). This realisation led to the first formal recognition of the ‘social’ in the National Environmental Protection Policy Act 1969 (NEPA) in the United States, and in the Environmental Protection and Enhancement Procedures 1973 in New Zealand. Since then, the theory and practice of social assessment has evolved, gained acceptance, and increased in use across organisations, industry, governments and countries. A significant factor influencing its increased acceptance and use has been the recognition of the many benefits of social assessment. These include the alleviation of stress on communities that are uncertain about what potential

social impacts may occur as a result of a project or policy proposal, reduced resistance to proposals and therefore disruption to the development process, increased chances for project success, and reduced chances of experiencing major planning ‘disasters’ and related costs (Burdge and Vanclay 1995). Other factors that have influenced the development of social assessment, include increased legislative recognition, key papers and interest by academics, the establishment of networks of interested persons and professionals, conferences, reviews and evaluations of social assessment in practice, and the development of social assessment principles and guidelines (Burdge and Vanclay 1995; Burdge 2004; Conland 1985, p. 16; Taylor, Bryan and Goodrich 2004, p. 4-7).

Social assessment has also evolved as problems in theory and practice have been debated and addressed. Some of the problems encountered include:

- recognition of the ‘social’ and inclusion of social assessments in the environmental process ,
- too much emphasis on product and project oriented assessments,
- an excess of social analysis,
- underdeveloped social assessment process and method,
- language that was too technical for the public to understand and respond to,
- environmental documents that were not used as the basis for better decision making,
- an excess of paperwork,
- duplication of effort, and
- lack of integration into the environmental impact assessment and decision making process

(Conland 1985, p. 3; Freudenburg 1986, p. 453; Taylor, Bryan and Goodrich 1995, p. 2-5, 12-14). Recent efforts to establish international principles for social assessment are a step towards addressing remaining problems. Vanclay notes that these principles will assist with the development of legislation and policy at a national level, provide standards for social assessment practice in international contexts, increase the appeal of social assessment to a wider range of audiences, establish minimum standards of social assessment practice, provide an articulation of best practice in social assessment, remove confusion over terminology, establish the appropriate scope of the social component of impact assessment, and promote the integration of social assessment in all impact assessments (2003, p. 11).

In New Zealand today, social assessment has a legislative mandate in the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA). This mandate is evident in the RMA's purpose which requires natural and physical resources to be managed in a way, or at a rate, that enables people and communities to provide for their social, economic, and cultural well being, while avoiding, remedying or mitigating any adverse effects on people and their communities:

5. Purpose-(1) The purpose of this Act is to promote the sustainable management of natural and physical resources.

(2) In this Act, "sustainable management" means managing the use, development, and protection of natural and physical resources in a way, or at a rate, which enables people and communities to provide for their social, economic, and cultural well being and for their health and safety while-

(a) Sustaining the potential of natural and physical resources (excluding minerals) to meet the reasonably foreseeable needs of future generations; and

(b) Safeguarding the life-supporting capacity of air, water, soil, and ecosystems; and

(c) Avoiding, remedying, or mitigating any adverse effects of activities on the environment.

(Section 5 Resource Management Act 1991, p.24).

'Effects' are defined as:

3. Meaning of "effect"-In this Act , unless the context otherwise requires, the term "effect"... includes-

(a) Any positive or adverse effect; and

(b) Any temporary or permanent effect; and

(c) Any past, present, or future effect; and

(d) Any cumulative effect which arises over time or in combination with other effects- regardless of the scale, intensity, duration, or frequency of the effect, and also includes-

(e) Any effect of high probability; and

(f) Any potential effect of low probability which has a high potential impact.

(Section 3 Resource Management Act 1991, p. 23).

'Environment' is defined as:

2. Interpretation-(1) In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires,-

....

"Environment" includes-

(a) Ecosystems and their constituent parts, including people and communities; and

- (b) All natural and physical resources; and
 - (c) Amenity values; and
 - (d) The social, economic, aesthetic, and cultural conditions which affect the matters stated in paragraphs (a) to (c) of this definition or which are affected by those matters.
- (Section 2 Resource Management Act 1991, p. 13).

The Act also acknowledges consultation as central to the whole process, and requires that all interested or affected people be consulted (Fourth Schedule Resource Management Act 1991, p. 359).

Although social assessment was developed primarily as a tool for assessing the likely social impacts of proposed projects or policies, social assessment approaches and methods can be used to assess the social impacts of existing projects or policies. The lack of New Zealand specific empirical data on facility siting trends and community experiences in New Zealand, prompted Taylor Baines to propose research that would utilise social assessment in this way. The benefits of such research stem from the provision of empirical data that will:

- improve assessments of social and environmental effects,
- further the effects based approach to resource management and planning embodied in the RMA,
- encourage greater and better informed participation by communities and other interested groups in the siting process,
- support more equitable and better informed planning decisions,
- encourage the development of effective relationships between facility operators and host communities, and
- improve ongoing management of facilities.

Such research would be of particular interest to communities, urban and rural planners, developers, and practitioners.

As it is relatively uncommon¹ for social assessment to be used as a tool for the assessment of the social impacts of existing projects and policies, Taylor Baines' research not only provides empirical data that is currently lacking in New Zealand, but provides an example of this type of social assessment in practice and the benefits associated with its use. This thesis provides an opportunity to illustrate this type of social assessment, explore practice related issues, and highlight the benefits of the research to date.

Funding of the research programme

The Facilities Siting and Effects Programme was funded by the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology (FRST). The Foundation is a crown entity, which invests in research, science and technology in order to enhance the wealth and well being of New Zealanders. The Foundation states that its mission is to invest "in innovation for New Zealand's future" (Foundation for Research, Science and Technology). The Foundation has a number of funds and schemes from which money is allocated. Taylor Baines' research programme was funded out of the former Public Good Science Fund.

Facilities included in the research programme

The research included four types of facilities – solid waste facilities, wastewater treatment facilities, prison facilities, and large retail facilities. Preliminary research was also undertaken on mobile phone sites.

Stages of the research

Generally, the research on each of the facilities involved three main stages – Sector Reviews, Historical Analyses, and Case Studies.

¹ There are several possible reasons for this, including the focus to date on encouraging the development and acceptance of social assessment as a tool for managing change, a lack of resources for research that is not legally required, and a fear that research could raise issues for facilities which to date have operated without too many objections from their host communities.

Sector Reviews were conducted for the prison facilities, large retail facilities, and mobile phone sites. These reports included descriptions of the sector, overviews of the relevant policy and planning environments, and reviews of related literature on social impacts.

Historical analyses were conducted for the solid waste facilities, wastewater treatment facilities, prison facilities, and large retail facilities. The solid waste and wastewater treatment facility reports examined the decision-making setting for site selection, the community setting of selected and alternative sites, and the demographic characteristics of the host communities. Reports updating the demographic analyses were also produced at a later date. In all, 27 landfills and eight transfer stations (in 19 territorial authority areas) with siting decisions between 1972 and 1997, and 27 wastewater treatment facilities (in 17 territorial authority areas) with siting decisions between 1975 and 1998 were analysed. The prison historical analysis focused on exploring trends in prison facility and host community developments over the last 15 years rather than on siting decisions, due to the lack of new prisons in recent times. In all, nine prison facilities in eight territorial authority areas were looked at. The retail analysis also differed slightly, focussing on a comparative analysis of 16 different types and scales of large retail facilities in three territorial authority areas.

Case studies were conducted for the solid waste facilities, wastewater treatment facilities, prison facilities, and large retail facilities. These summarised the development and operation of each facility, described the host community, assessed the host community experience of the day to day operational effects of the facility, and summarised community perceptions of the long term effects of the facility on local development patterns. Case studies of eight solid waste facilities, nine wastewater facilities, four prison facilities, and three large retail facilities were carried out. Fewer case studies were carried out for the prison and retail facilities as the nature of the facilities and their host communities' commanded greater time and resources due to their increased scale and complexity.

1.3 Taylor Baines' research on the social impacts of prisons on their host communities

Having examined the siting decisions and social impacts of solid waste and wastewater treatment facilities, Taylor Baines chose to include prison facilities in its research programme. Prison facilities were chosen for several reasons, including:

- the often contentious 'not in my backyard' (NIMBY) response from communities identified as potential hosts², and
- the likelihood of a number of new prisons being built in New Zealand in the near future due to rising inmate numbers and a national shortage of inmate accommodation.

Taylor Baines' decision to include prison facilities was also influenced by the Department of Corrections' expression of interest in the research. The Department of Corrections expressed interest in the research and agreed to participate after being approached by Taylor Baines. As the research was initiated by Taylor Baines and the research was funded from the Public Good Science Fund, Taylor Baines retained significant control over the assessment process. These circumstances are quite different from social assessments of the likely social impacts of a proposed project or policy, which are usually initiated and funded by policy/project developers who are trying to introduce new policies or projects. In these cases, it is arguable that it is more difficult for practitioners to retain complete control over the assessment process.

² Maxim & Plecas (1983, p. 39), Carlson (1991, p. 212), and Farrington & Parcells (1991, p. 19) reinforce the perception that generally the siting of a prison is met with opposition by potential host communities. Although, there are a growing number of communities overseas (particularly in the United States) that are actively campaigning to have a prison sited in their communities (Gibbons & Pierce 1995; Thies 2000; Young 1998; Carlson 1991, pp. 212-213). Carlson notes that this competition for the siting of a prison is driven by what they (prisons) can give, not by what they are (1991, pp. 212-213). Carlson argues that the desire to host a prison arises when the employment and payroll that a prison offers becomes attractive to small rural communities that have lost traditional industries and have limited opportunities for alternative economic growth (1991, pp. 212-213).

Timeframe of the prison research

The prison research took place between November 2000 and March 2003.

Objectives of the prison research

Unlike some of the other Facility Siting and Effects research, it was decided early in the scoping phase that the prison research would only focus on exploring the social impacts of New Zealand prisons on their host communities. Prison sitings were not researched due to the lack of recent prison sitings in New Zealand, making it difficult to access adequate information and participants to assess siting issues.

The concept of 'host community' in the prison research

Although the concept of 'host community' had been employed throughout the Facility Siting and Effects research, it was acknowledged in the prison research that the definition of 'host community' was likely to vary with different facility types. This was particularly evident during the prison historical analysis and later on during the case studies. As a result, the definition of host community was modified several times during the research. This is discussed in Chapter 5.

Stages of the prison research

As with the format used in the wider facility siting and effects programme, the prison research involved three stages – a Sector Review (Morgan and Baines 2001a), a Historical Analysis (Morgan and Baines 2001b), and Case Studies (Morgan, Buckenham and Baines 2001; Morgan, Buckenham and Baines 2002; Buckenham, Morgan and Baines 2002a; Buckenham, Morgan and Baines 2002b). An overview report was also produced (Baines, Morgan and Buckenham 2003).

A sector review of New Zealand's prison facilities

The main purpose of the prison sector review was to familiarise the researchers with the prison sector, and to gather information that would assist with decisions regarding the content of the historical analysis and case studies. In particular, background information was needed to assist with the selection of prison facilities, research methodology and research questions. Establishing the nature of New Zealand prisons and prison policy was considered crucial, as this was likely to be an important factor influencing the experience of impacts by host communities.

The following provides an overview of the Department of Corrections' prisons policy, the national prison facilities, the Department of Corrections' prison siting policy, and the literature review of social impacts as reported in Taylor Baines' Sector Review (Morgan and Baines 2001a).

Department of Corrections' Prisons Policy

Department of Correction's Strategic Focus

The Department of Corrections' strategic focus over the 2000-2008 period is to reduce re-offending through its administration of prisons and a variety of community restraints (Department of Corrections 2000b, p.9). It is the administration of New Zealand prisons that is relevant to the Taylor Baines' research. Two key policies relating to the administration of New Zealand prisons were implemented in order to achieve this objective – the 'Regional Prisons Policy' and the 'Comprehensive Prisons Policy'.

Regional Prisons Policy

The Regional Prisons Policy supports the accommodation of inmates in their home region, enabling them to maintain links with family, friends, and future employment opportunities. It is believed that maintaining these links will reduce an inmate's chance of re-offending (Department of Corrections 2000b, p. 12). The policy is thought to be of particular importance to Maori for whom maintaining links with whanau can be an important part of rehabilitation, re-integration and reducing re-offending.

The excess of beds in the central and west coast of the North Island and the lack of beds in South Auckland and Northland means that at present the objectives of this policy are not being met (Department of Corrections 1999). Maori in particular, due to over-representation in the prison population, are affected by bed shortages and the inability to accommodate all inmates in their home regions (Department of Corrections 2000b, pp. 23-24).

Comprehensive Prisons Policy

The Comprehensive Prisons Policy supports the objectives in the Regional Prisons Policy by aiming to provide a comprehensive range of facilities and security levels, therefore reducing the likelihood that inmates will have to be accommodated outside of their home region. It also enables inmates to access rehabilitation/treatment programmes and advance to lower security levels (Department of Corrections 2000b, p. 14). Currently, not all prisons are as comprehensive as the policy aims for. The policy states that comprehensive prisons should provide:

- a range of security levels/accommodation types
- safe cells and segregated cells
- remand facilities
- units for special purposes, special needs, and youth inmates
- rehabilitation/treatment programmes
- health facilities and services
- recreation facilities

- inmate employment facilities
- visiting facilities
- catering, laundry, and often stand alone sewage and water facilities
- physical and electronic security.

These facilities and services are described in detail in the Department of Corrections' comprehensive policy.

Relevance to the Taylor Baines' research

The descriptions of the above facilities and services assisted the research team to familiarise themselves with the nature of prisons in New Zealand. This in turn helped identify potential social impacts on prison host communities and assisted with the selection of prisons for the historical analysis and case studies, the selection of research methodologies, and the selection of research questions. For example, in selecting prison facilities for the historical analysis, the team took into account that it would be beneficial to have a mix of security levels represented in the sample. The fact that some prisons have medium and maximum security inmates also influenced the selection of research questions. It was considered important for example, to assess whether the presence of inmates with higher security levels affected the host communities' perceptions and experiences of the prison.

National prison facilities

Prison development in New Zealand

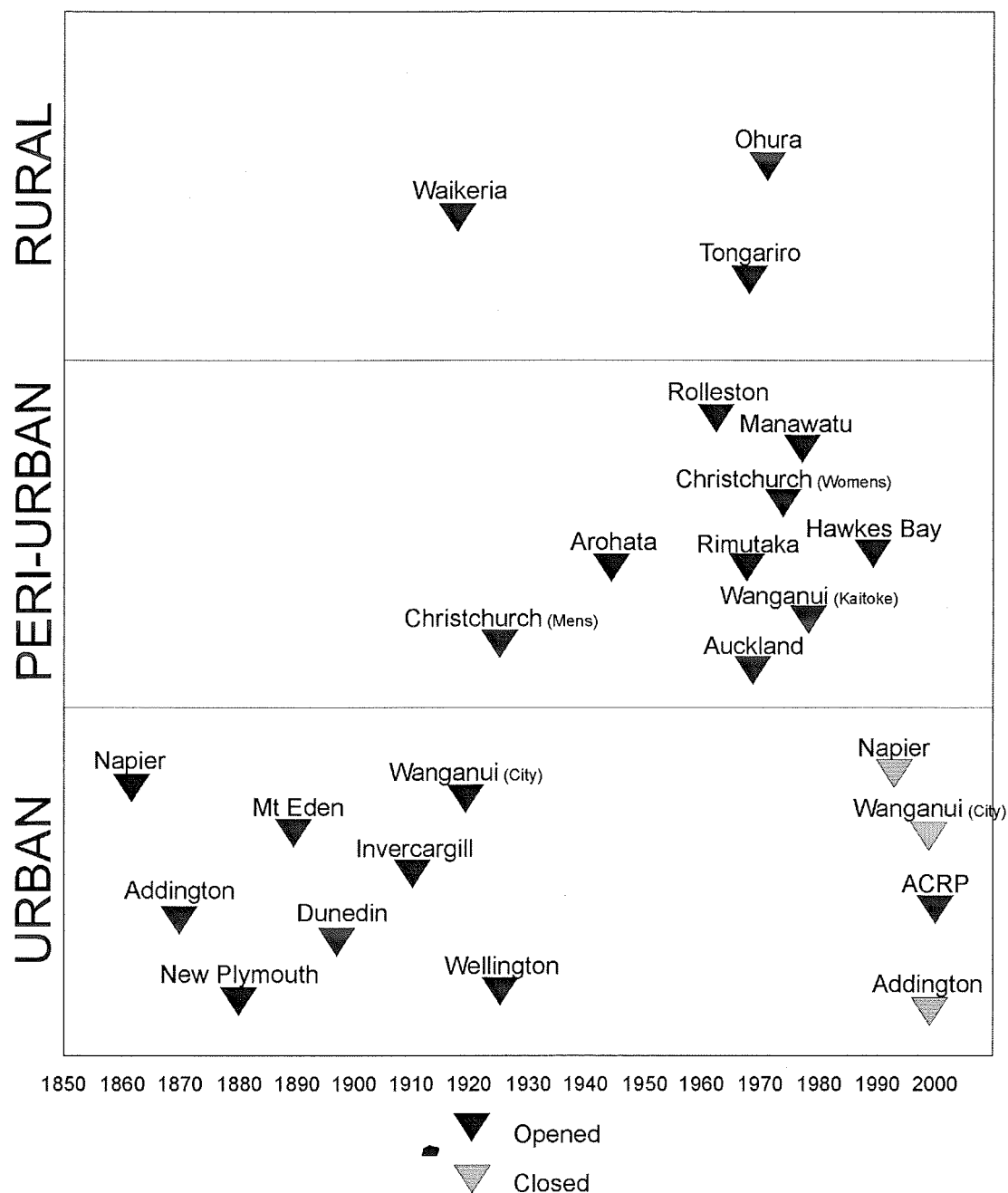
The timeline in Figure 1 illustrates the development of the prison sector in New Zealand³. Between 1862 and 1925 ten prisons were established, followed by one in the 1940s, four in the 1960s, and four in the 1970s. In 1989 the first of the Department of Corrections' 'Regional Prisons' was established in Hawkes Bay. Only one new prison, Auckland Central Remand, has

³ The timeline represents openings and closures, not the many new additions made to prisons in the late 1980s-early 1990s and late 1990s to cater for increasing muster levels.

been established since then. The main closures have been the closure of Napier Prison in 1993, and Addington Prison (in Christchurch) and Wanganui City Prison in 1999. Currently, the Department of Corrections is considering the closure of Mt Eden, Tongariro/Rangipo, Ohura, Wellington, Dunedin, and Invercargill. The planning and construction of new prisons in Northland and South Auckland is also underway, while the development of new prisons in Otago, Bay of Plenty, and Nelson is being considered.

The timeline also highlights the move away from the construction of prisons in urban locations to the construction of prisons in peri-urban locations as prisons' musters have increased. The urban prisons which are older, less secure, and unable to provide adequate facilities and services are now either closed or being considered for closure. Auckland Central Remand Prison has been the exception to this trend as it was built in an urban location in 2000. This location was chosen because of the availability of prison land adjacent to Mt Eden Prison, and because it accommodates remand inmates for whom proximity to court facilities and visitors is particularly important.

Figure 1: Timeline of prison development in New Zealand



As the exact opening dates for some of these prisons are difficult to access, the opening dates used here best reflect the current buildings on each prison site.

ACRP = Auckland Central Remand Prison

Refer to Appendix 1 for a list of actual opening and closing dates.

Source: Morgan and Baines 2001a, p. 9.

Number and type of prison facilities in New Zealand

There are currently eighteen public prisons in New Zealand, although one of these (Auckland Central Remand) is privately operated. Thirteen of the prisons are located in the North Island and five are located in the South Island.

Fifteen of the eighteen prisons in New Zealand accommodate male inmates only. Currently, there is a shortage of beds for men in South Auckland and Northland. As a result, the development of prisons in these regions is underway. While most of the current prisons have minimum and medium security facilities, only two cater for maximum security inmates. Two prisons in New Zealand accommodate female inmates only. Although having only a small number of women's prisons means that some women cannot be accommodated regionally, the smaller female prison population means that this remains the best way to retain comprehensiveness of facilities. Incidence of women being accommodated out of region is increasing due to limited capacity and growing numbers of inmates from the Auckland area. One prison (Mt Eden) accommodates both male and female inmates.

Table 1: Location, accommodation, capacity, and security levels of prisons in New Zealand

Prison	Location	Accommodates (Men/Women)	Capacity	Security levels			
				Minimum	Medium	Maximum	Remand
Auckland	North Is.	Men	645	✓	✓	✓	✓
Auckland Central Remand	North Is.	Men	272		✓		✓
Waikeria	North Is.	Men	877	✓	✓		✓
Ohura	North Is.	Men	100	✓			
Tongariro/Rangipo	North Is.	Men	442	✓			
Hawkes Bay	North Is.	Men	557	✓	✓		✓
New Plymouth	North Is.	Men	108	✓	✓		✓
Wanganui	North Is.	Men	370	✓	✓		✓
Manawatu	North Is.	Men	278	✓	✓		✓
Wellington	North Is.	Men	120		✓		
Rimutaka	North Is.	Men	446	✓	✓		✓
Christchurch	South Is.	Men	664	✓	✓	✓	✓
Rolleston	South Is.	Men	320	✓			
Dunedin	South Is.	Men	59		✓		✓
Invercargill	South Is.	Men	172	✓			✓
Mt Eden	North Is.	Men, Women	381	✓	✓		✓
Arohata	North Is.	Women	127	✓	✓		✓
Christchurch Womens	South Is.	Women	98	✓	✓	✓	✓

Source: Department of Corrections 2001.

Prison population

As at February 2001 there was a total of 5,904 prison inmates in New Zealand. Of these, 5,615 were male inmates, 289 were female. Both male and female inmate numbers have steadily increased over the last fifteen years. Male inmate numbers have nearly doubled, while female inmate numbers have nearly tripled (Department of Corrections 2000e). It is predicted that there will be a steady increase in both male and female inmate populations over the next eight years (Ministry of Justice Forecasts in Department of Corrections 2000b).

The characteristics of the prison population have also changed since the mid 1980s. There has been an increase in violent offenders, an increase in average sentence length and time served, and the emergence of an aging prison population (Department of Corrections 2000b, p. 15). A large proportion of these inmates are Maori (44.4% of male inmates identify as Maori, 6.9% as part Maori, while 38% of female inmates identify as Maori, 20.5% as part Maori) (Department of Corrections 2000a).

Relevance to Taylor Baines' research

Information relating to the development of New Zealand's prison sector, New Zealand's prison facilities, and New Zealand's prison population reinforced the need for research into the social impacts of prisons, and assisted the research team to select prison facilities for the historical analysis and case studies. For example, the planning of new prisons and the increasing inmate population highlighted the potential for increased impacts on existing and future host communities, and therefore the need for research in this area. Data on the location, accommodation type, capacity, and security levels of New Zealand's prisons assisted with the selection of a variety of prison types.

Department of Correction's prison siting policy

Procedural

There are three stages involved in the siting of a prison facility in New Zealand:

- 1) site selection process
- 2) designation of site
- 3) prison design and resource consents.

The Department of Corrections states that consultation is an important part of its site selection process (Department of Corrections 2000c). Methods utilised include meetings, hui, information

packs, community liaison advisers, free phone, mail outs, public submissions, local advertising, open days and displays.

Substantive

The key consideration when siting a prison is the Regional Prisons Policy, which recognises the need for inmates to be accommodated in their home regions. Other considerations include:

- national and regional demand for beds
- site, technical requirements
- site access
- nearest populated centre
- economic, social, environmental and cultural impact.

(Department of Corrections 2000d).

A review of the literature: social impacts of prisons on their host communities

The literature review conducted by Taylor Baines was based on a search for national and international literature on the social impacts of prisons on host communities. Documents reviewed included: New Zealand Department of Correction's documents, the evidence of a New Zealand public valuer, a socio-economic assessment of the impact of the Department of Correction's activities on Turangi in New Zealand, social and economic impact reports commissioned for the siting of new prisons in Northland and South Auckland in New Zealand, and a number of overseas discussions and case studies on the social impacts of prisons on their host communities.

The review gives an indication of the extent and nature of social impacts studies conducted to date, and provides an overview of the type of social impacts identified and discussed. The majority of literature examining the social impacts of prisons on their host communities has come out of the United States of America and Canada. For the most part, this has been a response to the huge growth in inmate numbers and prison facilities within these countries over the last ten years. With growth in the number of prisons there has also been growth in the

number of host communities potentially affected by the prisons' presence and operations. To date, there has been minimal research of a similar kind in New Zealand (for example, Connell Wagner Limited 2000).

A number of potential social impacts on prison host communities were identified in the literature review. These potential social impacts, 'adverse' and 'positive' included impacts on employment and the local economy, personal safety and crime, property values, community resources and services, community improvement, aesthetic values, environment/conservation, community prestige, and quality of life.

Prison employment

Employment created by a prison siting has the potential to have a positive impact on the prison's host community. Indeed, the perception that a prison will create employment and stimulate local economies is often the main reason communities support a prison siting (Carlson 1991, p. 214; Gibbons & Pierce 1995; Martin 2000, p. 287; Schichor 1992, p. 72; Thies 2000; Young 1998). This is especially true for rural communities that have suffered the loss of agricultural, mining and other natural resource industries (Thies 2000).

The presence of a prison, which will often become the host community's largest employer, can reduce unemployment, and create job stability. Job stability is created due to the absence of local and foreign competition, and the unlikelihood of downsizing or closure (Carlson 1991, p. 223; Gibbons & Pierce 1995; Thies 2000). The income generated by this job creation in turn provides a boost to the local economy through increased consumer spending. The housing market may be affected by the increased demand for accommodation.

A socio-economic assessment of the impact that the Department of Corrections activities had on Turangi in New Zealand revealed a positive impact in the form of stimulus to the housing market, employment, and the injection of \$5-\$7 million into the Turangi economy (Connell Wagner Limited 2000). The Department of Corrections also predicts a positive impact from proposed prisons in the Northland and South Auckland regions, including the creation of

employment opportunities. (Brown, Copeland & Co Limited 1999; Brown, Copeland & Co Limited 2000a; Brown, Copeland & Co Limited 2000b; Department of Corrections 2000f; Simich 1999).

Although there is a perception that the presence of a prison will benefit a community through its contributions to employment and the local economy, there are some factors that may reduce the benefit received by the host community. Many staff may be drawn from surrounding communities therefore dispersing and reducing the benefit received by the host community (Carlson 1991, p. 223). Host communities may not have enough specialised workers (construction, health, custodial, management) for the prison to employ (Schichor 1992, pp. 76-77). The size of the host community may also be an important factor. Smaller communities generally tend to receive a greater benefit than larger communities for whom employment and the local economy may not be such a problem (Carlson 1991, p. 224; Schichor 1992, p. 76). It may also be that if a community has been depressed for a long period of time, the reduction in unemployment and other 'economic benefits' may not reduce poverty or have the estimated positive impact on the host community (Thies 2000). It is also possible that the jobs created as a result of a prison siting may not always be the 'type' of jobs wanted by the host community (Gibbons & Pierce 1995). Gibbons and Pierce (1995) note that the siting of a prison does not always fit in with the communities 'growth plan', and does not produce the 'right' type of economic growth.

Goods and service providers

Carlson (1991, p. 214) and Schichor (1992, pp. 72-77) note the presence of a prison creates jobs indirectly through the stimulation of other community businesses. Inmates for example, have the opportunity to make purchases each week.

The Department of Corrections estimates that the proposed Northland prison will inject \$10 million into the local economy after its construction, much of which will be due to the need for prison goods and services (Brown, Copeland & Co Limited 1999; Brown, Copeland & Co Limited 2000a; Brown, Copeland & Co Limited 2000b; Department of Corrections September

2000f; Simich 1999). However, it should be noted that Connell Wagner Limited (2000) found that businesses in Turangi often failed to compete for prison contracts offered to larger businesses outside the region.

Spending by inmate families

Carlson (1991, p. 214) and Schichor (1992, pp. 72-77) note that the presence of a prison will provide a boost to the local economy through a variety of spending, including spending by inmate families.

Spending by prison visitors

Carlson (1991, p. 214) and Schichor (1992, pp. 72-77) note that the presence of a prison will provide a boost to the local economy through a variety of spending, including spending by prison visitors.

Unfair business competition

The Department of Corrections recognises the potential for negative impacts from inmate employment on competing industries in prison host communities if not appropriately selected. The Department therefore states that prisons will not establish industries that may compete with host community industries (Department of Corrections 1999). In Wanganui, private sector jobs have actually been created as a result of collaboration between inmate employment ventures and the private sector (Department of Corrections 2000c).

Prison contributions to the community

Various community facilities may benefit from prison contributions and inmate work in the community. Prison involvement in its host community can range from cleaning up after floods, crafting carvings for community facilities, refurbishing desks for schools, and working with community groups and local councils on beautification projects (Department of Corrections 1999). The Turangi community appreciated the prison's involvement in the community, and felt

its loss as activities such as the donation of free firewood for raffles has ceased (Connell Wagner Limited 2000).

Risk to personal safety – inmate escapes

There is a fear that the siting of a prison will jeopardise the personal safety of the members of the host community, due to the risk of inmate escapes (Gibbons & Pierce 1995; Young 1998; Schichor 1992, p. 72). However, Carlson (1991, p. 215) notes that escapes seldom occur, and Young (1998) discovered that members of host communities generally felt safer with the presence of a prison. The Department of Corrections has pointed out that numerous prisons around New Zealand are located near to schools and that they have never experienced problems or felt unsafe (Department of Corrections 1999). The Department also notes that most host communities have a ‘community warning system’ in place in the event of an escape or other security problem (Department of Corrections 1999).

Prison-induced crime locally

Linked to the fear that personal safety will be jeopardised by the siting of a prison is the fear that there will be an increase in crime. Overseas research shows mixed results as to the impact prisons have on crime rates (Thies 2000). Some communities experience an increase in crime while many experience no impact or a reduction in crime (Carlson 1991, p. 215; Schichor 1992, pp. 73-74). As with the concern over personal safety, there is the belief that crime will increase as a result of inmate escapes, the influx of inmate families into the community, and the presence of ex inmates who decide to remain in the community after release (Thies 2000; Young 1998). Farrington and Parcells (1991) also discuss the effect that reporting, police activities, offences within prisons, inmates on temporary release, parolees, visitors, and staff may have on crime rates. Thies (2000) notes that where communities show an increase in crime, caution has to be given to any interpretations as increases may be due to changes in reporting, law enforcement, and population.

In Turangi, New Zealand, Connell Wagner Limited (2000) note that locals were usually responsible for crime, and that the slight increase in crime recorded since the prison's siting was due to a change in reporting methods and the police approach to cannabis related crime. Connell Wagner Limited (2000) also note that it can take only one person in a small community to have a huge impact on crime rates. The Department of Corrections claims that the siting of a prison is more likely to have a positive impact on its host community's crime rates. The Paremoremo community for example has the lowest crime rate in the country. (Department of Corrections 1999).

Changes in the levels of community services and resources

Host communities may be inadequately reimbursed for the use of local services such as police, health services, and courts (Schichor 1992, pp. 76-77). There is also some evidence that population increases due to the influx of inmates' families, ex inmates, and prison staff and their families result in an increased demand for community resources and services such as education, welfare, health, public utilities (sewage and water), fire department, roads, refuse, and police (Carlson 1991, pp. 215-219; Schichor 1992, p. 72; Thies 2000). It is possible however that this increased demand will result in the improved delivery and availability of such community resources and services.

Off-site environmental effects

The construction of a prison and the increase in traffic associated with its construction and operation may pose a risk to a host community's environment (Thies 2000). The degree to which this impact is felt or viewed may depend on measures taken during planning and by prison management. The Department of Corrections has recognised this potential impact and attempted to manage it by giving visitors appointment times rather than visiting days, and by subjecting visitors to security checks. The implementation of the Regional Prisons Policy also addresses concerns over traffic, as visitors should no longer have to make long journeys which may require refreshment stops or overnight stays, but shorter trips within the region. The Department of Correction's policy regarding the construction of prisons recognises the potential for prisons to have a negative impact on surrounding environments and conservation. Planning for example,

therefore takes into account the effect that the construction of a prison (for example, earthworks, waste water effluents) will have on local rivers and wild life.

Long term effects on local community and community development

Schichor examines the connection between prison facilities and the prestige of their host communities (1992, pp. 79-80). Schichor argues that status and prestige are important social indicators and that status is linked to the community in which you live (1992, p. 80). The status of a community is determined by land uses and other social and environmental factors. The status of community in which a prison is sited is therefore affected by the presence of a prison, and the potential increase of other associated undesirable effects such as crime and pollution. Schichor argues that prisons are usually sited in low prestige communities because high prestige communities have the resources to prevent the siting of a prison, or because prisons sited in an undeveloped community fail to then develop into high prestige communities.

Related to this issue is the fear expressed by residents of potential prison communities that property values will fall (Carlson 1991, p. 215; Maxim & Plecas 1983; Schichor 1992, p. 72; Thies 2000; Young 1998). It may be however that property values increase due to the increased demand for accommodation. Overseas experience has shown that generally there is little impact on property values (Carlson 1991, p. 215). Daly's review of property value changes surrounding numerous institutions in New Zealand and Australia also challenges this fear. Daly reviewed the values and changes to values of properties surrounding Mt Eden Prison, Paremoremo Prison, Rimutaka Prison, Wellington Prison, Arohata Prison, and Manawatu Prison, concluding that no significant changes were noticeable. It seems that if any negative impact does occur, it is restricted to immediate neighbours and is temporary (Daly, Department of Corrections 1999). Although static or increased property values are usually viewed as positive impacts, some residents or new residents may view this as a negative impact as purchasing new properties becomes more expensive (Thies 2000).

Some residents fear that the presence of a prison in their community will affect their general quality of life (Schichor 1992). The presence of a prison or a prison siting may cause

disharmony between residents (supporters and opponents), increase urban growth, and bring about significant population change. These consequences may be undesirable to residents who are often retirees or migrants from the 'city' who have made a 'lifestyle' choice to live in a 'rural' environment.

Relevance to Taylor Baines' research

The review of literature provided an indication to the research team of the potential social impacts of prisons on their host communities. This provided a starting point from which to develop appropriate methods to investigate whether these potential social impacts were being experienced by prison host communities in New Zealand.

A historical analysis of New Zealand's prison facilities

As with the Prison Sector Review, the main purpose of the Historical Analysis was to familiarise the researchers with the prison sector, and to gather information that would assist with the planning and development of the case studies. Of particular interest were changes and trends experienced by prisons and their host communities in recent years, as this would be relevant to the type and scale of social impacts experienced. A number of prisons were selected for the analysis, and changes and trends between 1985 and 2001 were explored.

In order to assess changes and trends to the selected host communities, it was necessary to identify the nature of the host community, including its geographical 'boundaries'. As noted earlier, the definition of host community was modified several times during the research. Observations during the Historical Analysis fieldwork resulted in the following definition:

the host community...refers to: the community resident in the geographic area most clearly associated with the prison facility. This geographic area may be defined by the prison facility's visibility, surrounding roads and access roads, and major topographical features. This community may be extended to include those who in a social sense feel

affected in some way by the prison facility's presence. This connection may be acknowledged through associations such as community warning systems, or evident in the prison facility's name, prison staff residences, or the location of the prison facility's goods and service providers.

The methodology applied during this stage of the research included review of Department of Correction's documentation, site visits to prisons and their host communities, and analysis of census data on host community demographics and dwellings. Site visits included:

- semi-structured interviews with two staff from each prison who were familiar with the facility and its host community over the last 15 years (usually one person from management/custody and one person from property/maintenance/instruction),
- direct observation in the surrounding neighbourhood to see what exists at the present time, and
- semi-structured interviews with planners from local territorial authorities to obtain information on changes in the vicinity of the prison facility over the last 15 years (for example: changes in land use rules, resource consent data on land use, new construction activities).

South Island site visits were carried out between January 10th-January 25th 2001. North Island site visits were carried out between February 12th - February 16th 2001 and on June 12th 2001.

In order to assist with the selection of prisons for the historical analysis, New Zealand's eighteen prisons were categorised according to their location:

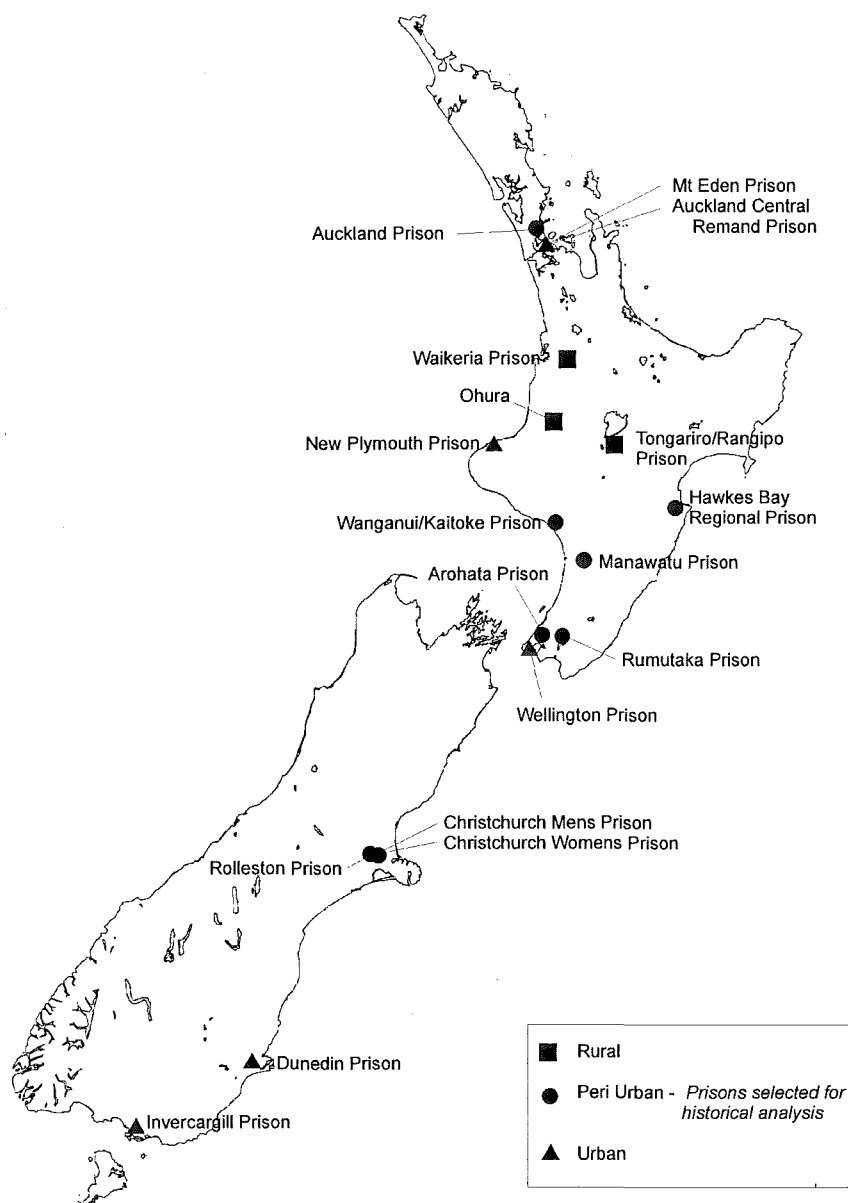
- Rural – prisons situated in remote rural areas
- Peri-urban – prisons situated on the outskirts of an urban centre or within a short travelling distance from an urban centre
- Urban – prisons situated within an urban centre.

The table and figure below show the prisons included in each of these categories.

Table 2: Categories of prisons

Rural Prisons	Peri-urban Prisons	Urban Prisons
Waikeria Prison	Auckland Prison	Mt Eden Prison
Ohura Prison	Hawkes Bay Regional Prison	Auckland Central Remand Prison
Tongariro/Rangipo Prison	Wanganui/Kaitoke Prison	New Plymouth prison
	Manawatu Prison	Wellington Prison
	Rimutaka Prison	Dunedin Prison
	Arohata Womens Prison	Invercargill Prison
	Christchurch Prison	
	Christchurch Womens Prison	
	Rolleston Prison	

Figure 2: Location of New Zealand prisons



Having categorised the prisons, it was decided that the historical analysis would focus on peri-urban prisons. A key reason for this decision was an interest expressed by the Department of Corrections that Taylor Baines investigate evidence of 'creep'. Creep is a notion that as a community becomes more comfortable and accepting of a prison facility, community development will 'creep' closer to the prison facility. This desire to investigate creep therefore ruled out the urban prisons, as there is little or no opportunity for creep to occur. Although both

peri-urban and rural prisons have the opportunity to experience creep, it is more likely in the case of peri-urban prisons which are located near a community of significant size. Peri-urban prisons were also preferred as they are likely to feature in future prison site selection due to the Department of Correction's Regional Prisons Policy – a policy that aims to accommodate inmates in their home region and within a reasonable travelling distance from urban centres⁴. All nine prisons in the peri-urban category were selected – half of the national prison facilities. This provided a range of prison facilities (North and South Island, men's and women's prisons, small, medium and larger sized prisons, and prisons with a variety of security levels) and provided a manageable research sample, which was capable of being clustered into two groups for field work (South and North Island prisons).

Table 3: Characteristics of the national prison facilities and the prison facility sample

	National Prison Facilities	Prison Facility Sample
Total sample size	18	9
Location		
North Island	13	6
South Island	5	3
Population		
Male	15	7
Female	2	2
Male & Female	1	-
Capacity		
0-99	2	1
100-199	5	1
200-299	2	1
300-399	2	2
400-499	3	1
500-599	1	1
600-699	1	1
700-799	-	-
800-899	2	1
Security levels		
Minimum	15	9
Medium	14	8
Maximum	3	3
Remand	14	8

Source: Morgan and Baines 2001b, p. 4.

The field work and resulting historical analysis report revealed significant changes to prison facilities in New Zealand over the last 15 years – many of which revolved around regionalisation

⁴ A 'reasonable' travelling distance is defined as less than 40 minutes travelling time.

and increased muster levels (see table 4 below for a list of trends observed). Although traditional methods of contact and interaction (such as community service) with host communities has generally reduced, a new form of interaction has emerged through the deliberate focus on inmate employment in commercial industries. The establishment of these commercial industries have forged new links with host communities through joint ventures or through the provision of goods and services. Although this trend is also true for Auckland Prison, Auckland Prison differs from other prisons examined, in that it has maintained a high level of contact with its host community over prison issues. A recent change to this contact, which has seen more pro-active communication rather than reactive communication, has received a positive response from the community as the availability of information eases concerns. The high level of contact that Auckland Prison has with its host community may be explained by the fact it is a high profile facility holding maximum security inmates, and because of its location in a valley in close proximity to surrounding dwellings.

In regards to the notion of 'creep', it appeared that it had not occurred in the host communities examined over the last 15 years. Although a few new scattered dwellings have been built surrounding a number of prisons, these dwellings are not being built any closer than existing dwellings. Having said that, the fact that they are being built close to a prison may be significant in itself.

Table 4: Prison facility and host community trends, 1985-2001

<p>Prison facility trends:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Prison management and operation has regionalised and centralised since 1995. ▪ The comprehensiveness of prisons has been increased, in order to provide a wider range of facilities and services. ▪ Some prisons have been re-named to reflect the wider regions they service, and to ease community concerns regarding the associations made between the facilities and their host communities. ▪ Prison capacity levels have been increased during the late 1980s-early 1990s and late 1990s to accommodate a gradual but significant muster increase since 1985. ▪ Inmates are being sentenced and accommodated for longer periods of time, the majority of whom are serving between one and seven years. ▪ The number of escapes occurring has significantly reduced, especially since the erection of several new fences since 1999. ▪ The number of prison staff employed has increased alongside the increase in muster. ▪ Few prison staff reside in the prison host communities. These numbers have reduced further with regionalisation and the closure of most prison staff villages between 1992 and 2000. ▪ There has been an increase in commercial on site and off-site inmate employment activities since 1997. ▪ Community service carried out by inmates has reduced over the last 15 years, especially since 1997. ▪ Fewer inmates are being released to work. ▪ Few inmate families relocate to prison host communities. ▪ Visitor numbers have increased alongside the increase in muster, although numbers have recently dropped slightly with the introduction of new visiting times and procedures in 2000. ▪ New fences have been erected at some facilities since 1999. ▪ There has been limited dialogue with host communities over prison issues in all but one of the selected prison facilities. ▪ There has been less interaction with host communities in the form of presentations, donations, and fundraising.
<p>Host community trends:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Apart from a few new subdivisions, no zoning changes have occurred. ▪ There has been no change to separation distances between prison facilities and their nearest dwellings or nearest consolidated residential areas. ▪ The combined host community population has increased partly due to a number of new subdivisions. ▪ Residential development has been limited to the addition of a few scattered residential dwellings in most host communities and some new subdivisions. ▪ Little commercial development has occurred over the last 15 years. ▪ Apart from some subdivision to create lifestyle blocks, there have been few changes to farming in the selected prisons' host communities.

Case studies: an analysis of host community experience

The case studies conducted as part of the Taylor Baines' prison research aimed to assess the social impacts of selected New Zealand prison facilities on their host communities. Each case study included a history and description of the facility, a history and description of the host community, an assessment of the operational effects of the facility on the host community, and commentary on community perceptions of the long-term effects of the facility on the host community. It is these case studies that are the focus of this thesis.

After a review of stage one and two of the research and consultation with the Department of Corrections, four prisons were selected for the case studies – Rolleston Prison, Rimutaka Prison, Hawkes Bay Prison, and Wanganui Prison (see Figure 2 for location)⁵. Aside from being peri-urban prisons (see discussion above on peri-urban prisons), a number of other factors were considered during the selection process. These are listed below in Table 5.

Table 5: Factors influencing prison selections for case studies

Prison	Factors influencing its decision
Rolleston	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Minimum security status ▪ Regular prison expansions ▪ Significant recent growth in the local community ▪ Proximity to Christchurch/Taylor Baines' base (making it a good candidate for a pilot case study)
Rimutaka	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Close proximity to a large urban centre ▪ Significant prison expansion ▪ Interest expressed in case study by Department of Corrections
Hawkes Bay	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ One of NZ's newest prisons (built in 1985) ▪ Local community mostly Maori settlements
Wanganui	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Extensive and diverse on-site industries ▪ Expression of interest in a case study by the Wanganui District Council

⁵ It should be noted that Auckland Prison was initially a preferred choice over Wanganui Prison due to its status as New Zealand's maximum security prison, its close proximity and relationship with local community, and expression of interest by the prison management in having the case study done. However, the research team chose not to proceed with Auckland Prison after a key member of the local community expressed opposition to the case study during the selection process. The research team was concerned that the position of this person in the community was such that access and responses from local residents may have been affected.

Fieldwork and feedback meetings were carried over the following periods:

Rolleston Prison	Fieldwork	November 2001-January 2002
	Feedback meetings	May 2002
Rimutaka Prison	Fieldwork	December 2001
	Feedback meetings	March 2002
Hawkes Bay Prison	Fieldwork	March 2002
	Feedback meetings	July 2002
Wanganui Prison	Fieldwork	July 2002
	Feedback meetings	October 2002

As the case studies provide the focus of this thesis, they are examined in detail in the following chapters.

An overview: contemporary host community experience of prisons in New Zealand

On the completion of the case study findings, an overview report was produced by Taylor Baines (Baines, Morgan & Buckenham 2003). This report contained an overview of the four case studies and their findings, and a discussion on the implications of these findings for the siting of future prisons, the planning of future prisons, and the management of existing and future prisons. These implications are incorporated into the discussion of Taylor Baines' research findings in Chapter 4.

1.4 Summary

This chapter provided background information on Taylor Baines' Facilities Siting and Effects Research Programme and prison research programme, in order to assist the reader to understand the discussion in the remaining thesis chapters, to provide an **insight into social assessment in practice**, and to discuss some of the issues and benefits of using social assessment as a tool for assessing the social impacts of existing projects and policies.

Social assessment as a tool for assessing the social impacts of existing projects and policies

Taylor Baines' prison research is a comprehensive example of social assessment being used as a tool for assessing the social impacts of existing projects and policies. As such it illustrates the potential for social assessment to be used to address the social impacts of existing projects/facilities and policies in New Zealand, and to build knowledge that can be used to inform future proposals for projects or policies. There are other benefits associated with the use of social assessment as a tool for assessing existing impacts, including the potential for greater control by the researcher over the assessment process. This is particularly so when the assessment is not funded by the project/policy developer, and the assessment is not linked to a project/policy proposal.

Chapter 2

The case studies:

Descriptions of the prison facilities and their host communities

2.1 Introduction

This chapter briefly summarises the main points of the four prison case study profiles compiled by Taylor Baines, including a history and description of the prison facilities and the host communities in each case study. The purpose of the chapter is to provide further background information, and to demonstrate the nature and value of social assessment profiling. As such, it provides a further insight into social assessment in practice. Taylor, Bryan and Goodrich (2004, p. 67) define profiling as an “analysis and overview of the current social context, and of historical trends”. The purpose of profiling is to provide information that can be used as a “point of departure for estimating effects of change”, and to inform decision-making during the assessment process (Taylor, Bryan and Goodrich 1995, p. 82).

The profiles were assembled at the beginning of each case study through the use of secondary data (such as the census and Department of Corrections’ documentation), and refined during the case study fieldwork through direct observation of the prisons and their surrounding communities.

The extent and nature of data and information gathered for the prison profiles was guided by the Sector Review and Historical Analysis reports, and the need to identify any features of the prison facility and operation that had the potential to create social impacts. Gathering data and information for the host community profiles was guided by a definition¹ of host community as agreed upon by the research team during the case study research process. This definition was as follows:

¹ Note: this definition differs slightly from the definition in the Historical Analysis.

the community resident in the geographic area most clearly associated with the prison facility. This geographic area may be defined by the prison's visibility, surrounding roads and access roads, and major topographical features. In addition to these geographic indicators, there may be 'relationship indicators' which highlight the prison's host community. Such relationship indicators may include community meetings with prison management or community warning systems. The prison's name may also indicate its host community.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the concept and definition of host community caused some debate, and evolved during Taylor Baines' prison research. Descriptions of the host communities below are reported as they were described in the Taylor Baines' case study reports (based on the definition above). A discussion on the host community issues that arose and were debated by the research team is contained in Chapter 5.

2.2 The Rolleston Prison case study

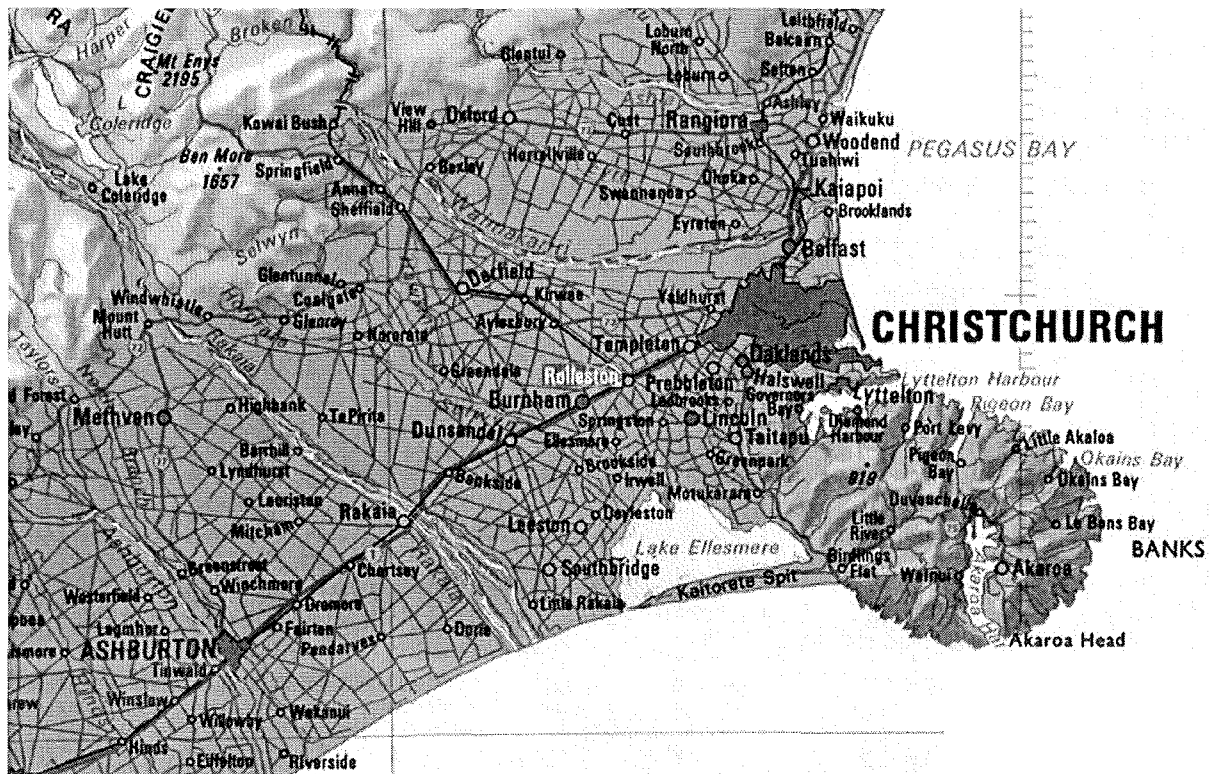
The prison

Prison description, location, and inmate catchment

Rolleston Prison was opened in 1962⁵. It is one of three prisons in the Canterbury region, and is located on the Canterbury Plains, approximately 15 kilometres south of Christchurch and three kilometres south of the township of Rolleston. It is a medium sized men's prison accommodating minimum and low medium security inmates.

⁵ Rolleston Prison has existed in some form or another for many years. This date most closely represents the establishment of Rolleston Prison as it is today.

Figure 3: Location of Rolleston



Source: Morgan, Buckenham and Baines 2002, p. 19.

Inmates generally come from within Rolleston Prison's court catchment area, which is the South Island north of Timaru. It is estimated that approximately 15% of the inmates in Rolleston Prison come from outside its catchment area. There are several reasons for this, including the presence of a sex offenders' unit and drug and alcohol unit. Not all prisons have such units.

Prison land

Rolleston Prison is sited on 63 hectares of Department of Correction's land designated for prison use. The land's underlying zone is rural. The only alteration to this has been an exchange of land in 1994/1995 with the neighbouring quarry owned by the Selwyn District Council.

Prison security

Although there is only a light boundary deer fence, each of the five individual prison units are wire fenced with internal security sensors⁶. Security lighting is located on each of these units' fences.

Prison structures, facilities, and utilities

Five separate units at Rolleston Prison can accommodate minimum and at times low medium security inmates. Together, these units provide 320 beds. Four of these units are currently in use, providing a capacity of 260 beds. Up until 1985, Rolleston Prison had only one accommodation unit (Tawa unit). Subsequently, five new units have been built. The original unit was demolished in 2000. Currently, Rolleston Prison has two special units, a sex offenders unit and a drug and alcohol unit.

Alongside the original unit, which was demolished in 2000, there was a prison staff village located on site. This village, which was accessed off Runners Road, contained 23 prison houses and housed approximately 100 staff and their families. In 1998, the prison staff village closed. All of the staff village houses were sold privately and moved off site.

Rolleston Prison has its own sewage treatment plant (including irrigation paddocks) on site. It also has its own water supply on site.

Prison industries

There are a number of on-site industries in which inmates may be employed, including: a tailor shop (established pre-1985), vegetable gardens (established pre-1985), and a plant

⁶ Although Tawa, the oldest unit, does not have the same level of fencing as the four newest units.

nursery (established in 1990). In the past there has also been a dry cleaning shop (1980-2000), a garage (1975-2000), and a carpentry shop (1975-2000). There are some off-site employment opportunities in which inmates may take part, including seasonal squash picking (in the summer of 2000), fruit picking (since 1998), forestry (since 2000), and manure collection (since 1992).

Inmates, staff, and visitors

Rolleston Prison has the capacity to accommodate 320 inmates. In October 2001, the inmate muster was around 260. The muster at Rolleston Prison has increased significantly over the last 15 years.

Generally, there has been an increase in prison staff over the last ten years as additional units have been constructed and the muster has increased. This trend has reversed in recent years as the Tawa unit has closed, and management and administration staff have relocated to Christchurch Prison as part of the regionalisation of Canterbury prisons. In October 2001, staff numbers at Rolleston Prison stood at 93.

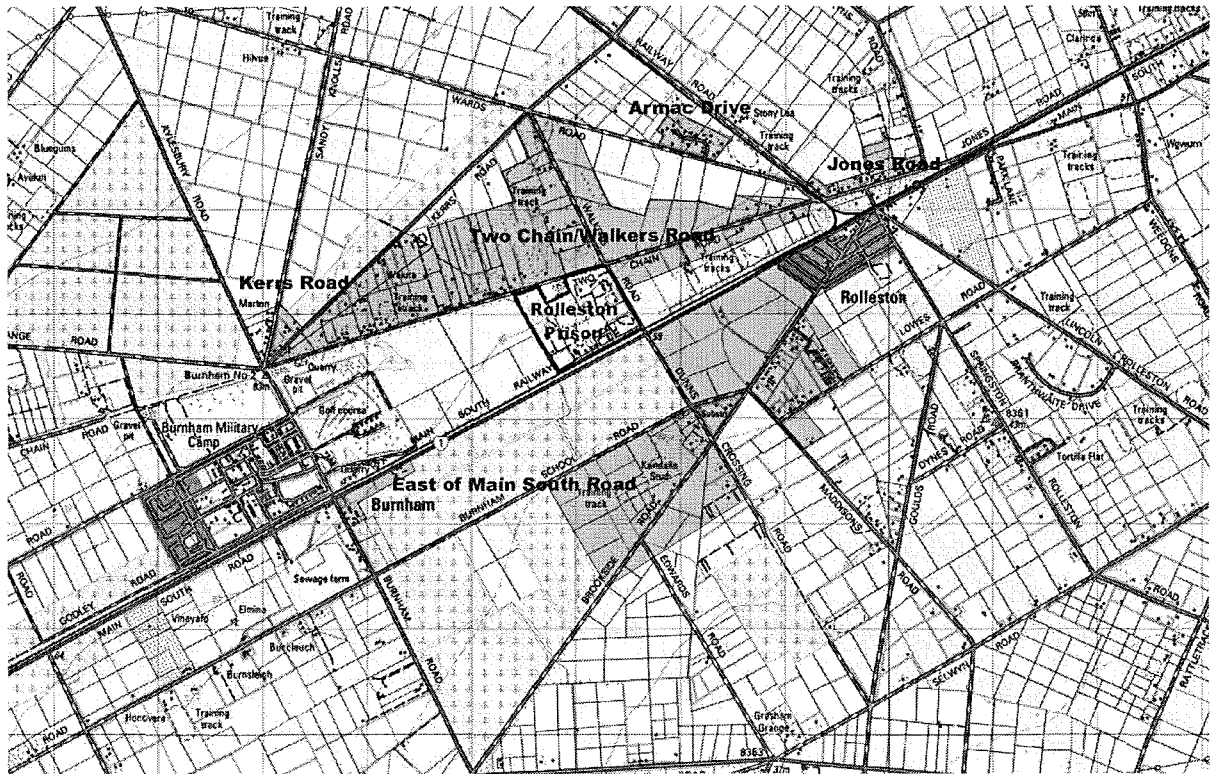
Visitors may visit sentenced inmates on Saturday between 9:00am and 11:00am or 1:30pm and 4:00pm. Segregated inmates may be visited on Wednesdays by appointment. There are approximately 120 visitors in total on a Saturday, and up to ten on a Wednesday. Until recently, sentenced inmates could be visited on Saturday and Sunday. Visitor numbers have been fairly static (increases only related to increase in muster), and unaffected by new security procedures (security checks and approvals) introduced just over a year ago. Other frequent visitors to the prison include volunteers, inmate services, prison goods and service providers, and police.

The host community

The host community referred to as the Rolleston community in this research is located approximately 15 kilometres south of Christchurch in the South Island of New Zealand. It is

characterised by its large proportion of residents who commute to work outside of Rolleston (the majority of whom probably work in Christchurch).

Figure 4: Rolleston Prison and host community survey areas



Source: Morgan, Buckenham and Baines 2002, p. 8.

Rolleston has experienced considerable residential growth over the last five to seven years. This new development has been accompanied by a vision that Rolleston will become a “satellite city of Christchurch”. The residential development in Rolleston has facilitated the development of a more ‘self contained’ community, which has greater access to commercial and community services.

Links between the prison and its host community

There are no formal links such as a liaison person, liaison committee, or regular meetings between Rolleston Prison and the Rolleston community. There is an annual meeting organised by Christchurch Prison which provides local residents the opportunity to find out

about prison developments, ask questions, or discuss concerns. As this meeting is advertised in a regional paper and is addressed to residents in the locality of Canterbury prisons, Rolleston residents could attend if they wished. Prison open days are also held.

There is also a community warning system, which aims to ensure that neighbours are warned when an inmate has escaped. Neighbours are warned by telephone. Currently, this system appears to be inconsistent in its operation, both in terms of neighbours who are on the list, and neighbours who are rung when an escape occurs.

There were indications that the links between Rolleston Prison and its host community have changed with the regionalisation of Canterbury prisons in recent years. This regionalisation has seen most of Rolleston Prison's management and administration staff relocate to Christchurch Prison (near Templeton, Christchurch). Most management and administrative matters and decisions are therefore made from the Christchurch Prison site rather than Rolleston.

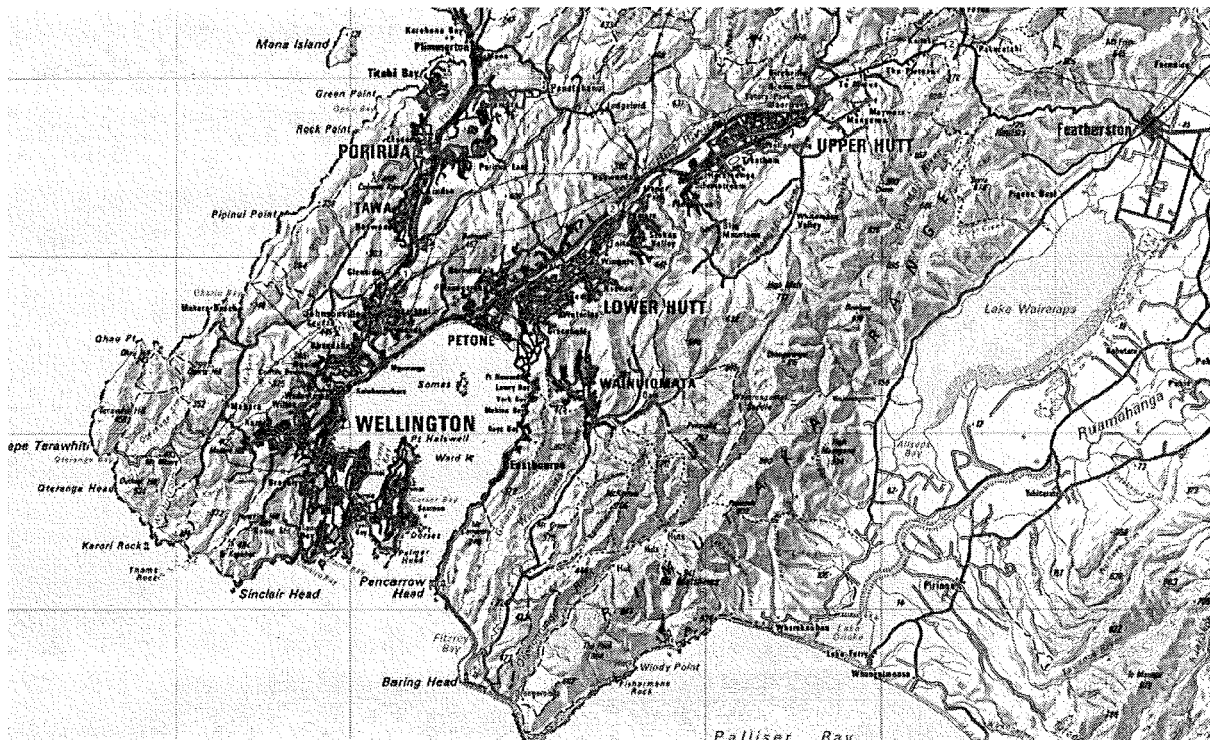
2.3 The Rimutaka Prison case study

The prison

Prison description, location, and inmate catchment

Rimutaka Prison, formerly known as Wi Tako Prison, was opened in 1967. It is a medium sized men's prison accommodating minimum security, medium (low and high medium) security and remand inmates. It is located in the Kuku Valley, approximately 35 kilometres north of Wellington City, and four kilometres southwest of the Upper Hutt City Centre.

Figure 5: Location of Upper Hutt



Source: Morgan, Buckenham and Baines 2001, p. 20.

The catchment area for Rimutaka Prison is the lower part of the North Island from Paraparaumu and Masterton down to Wellington. It has been estimated however that over 50% of inmates at Rimutaka Prison originate from outside the prison's catchment area. The Maori Focus Unit, Violent Offenders Unit, and the Youth Unit at Rimutaka Prison attract inmates from outside the prison's catchment area (as not all prisons in New Zealand have such units), and therefore factor heavily into the level of such inmates in Rimutaka Prison.

Prison land

Rimutaka Prison is sited on 189 hectares of Department of Correction's land designated for prison use. The designation lies on the borders of three underlying zones: 'Rural Hill Blue Mountains', 'Special Activity', and 'Rural Lifestyle'.

The two main changes to the land on which Rimutaka Prison is located, were the sale in December 2000 of the land on which the prison staff village was located, and the 'land swap' with the Defence Force in early 2001.

Prison security

Currently, there is no boundary fence at Rimutaka Prison. However, each individual prison unit is fully fenced and lit at night with prison security lighting.

Prison structures, facilities, and utilities

Inmate accommodation is based in eight separate units at Rimutaka Prison. Only one of these eight units existed in 1967. The remaining seven have been established over the last twelve years. Currently, a new unit is under construction. Rimutaka Prison has several special units including a Maori Focus Unit, a Violent Offenders Unit, and a Youth Unit.

Until 2000, Rimutaka Prison had a prison staff village. This village was located on Department of Corrections land but accessed off Pinehill Crescent approximately one kilometre away from the prison. The village contained 39 houses and housed approximately 150 people (staff and their families). In 2000 the prison staff village closed. All but three of the houses (which were purchased by prison staff and moved off site) remain on site. The Department of Corrections land on which these houses are sited, and the remaining 36 houses were sold to the Housing New Zealand Corporation in December 2000.

Also sited near the prison is a prison staff training college. This college caters for prison officers from all over New Zealand attending five week courses which are run up to 12 times each year. The college has restaurant and conference facilities, which are made available to the public. The motel units and hostel are also available to the public, although generally these are used by trainees, trainees' families during graduation, and Department of Correction's staff who are visiting Rimutaka Prison.

Rimutaka Prison is connected to the local water and sewage supply network (Upper Hutt City Council).

Prison industries

At present there are two commercial onsite industries, a joinery workshop (opened in 1993) and a plant nursery (opened in 1995). There is also a small farm (established when the prison opened). Currently, there are no commercial offsite industries. A small amount of community service is carried out by inmates. In the past there was also a piggery (1989-1992), a vegetable garden (1993 - 2000) and a laundry (closed in 1983).

Inmates, staff, and visitors

Rimutaka Prison often runs at, or near capacity, meaning that the muster is usually around 486 inmates. Muster trends show an increase in the number of inmates being accommodated at Rimutaka Prison over the last 12 years.

The number of staff employed at Rimutaka Prison has increased over the last 12 years as its capacity to accommodate inmates has increased. In December 2001, there were 285 staff employed at Rimutaka Prison.

In December 2001, inmates could be visited at the following times:

- Monday - Thursday: 12.15pm - 2.45pm (Unit 2 Remand inmates)
- Sunday: 9.00am - 11.00am (Unit 2 Segregated remand inmates)
- Sunday: 1.15pm - 3.15pm (Unit 3 Sentenced inmates)
- Saturday and Sunday: 1.00pm - 3.30pm (All other units).

Typically there are approximately 20 visitors a day during the week, approximately 100 on Saturdays and approximately 150 on Sundays. Greater restrictions on visiting times have recently been put in place in order to cope with large numbers of visitors. Visitor numbers

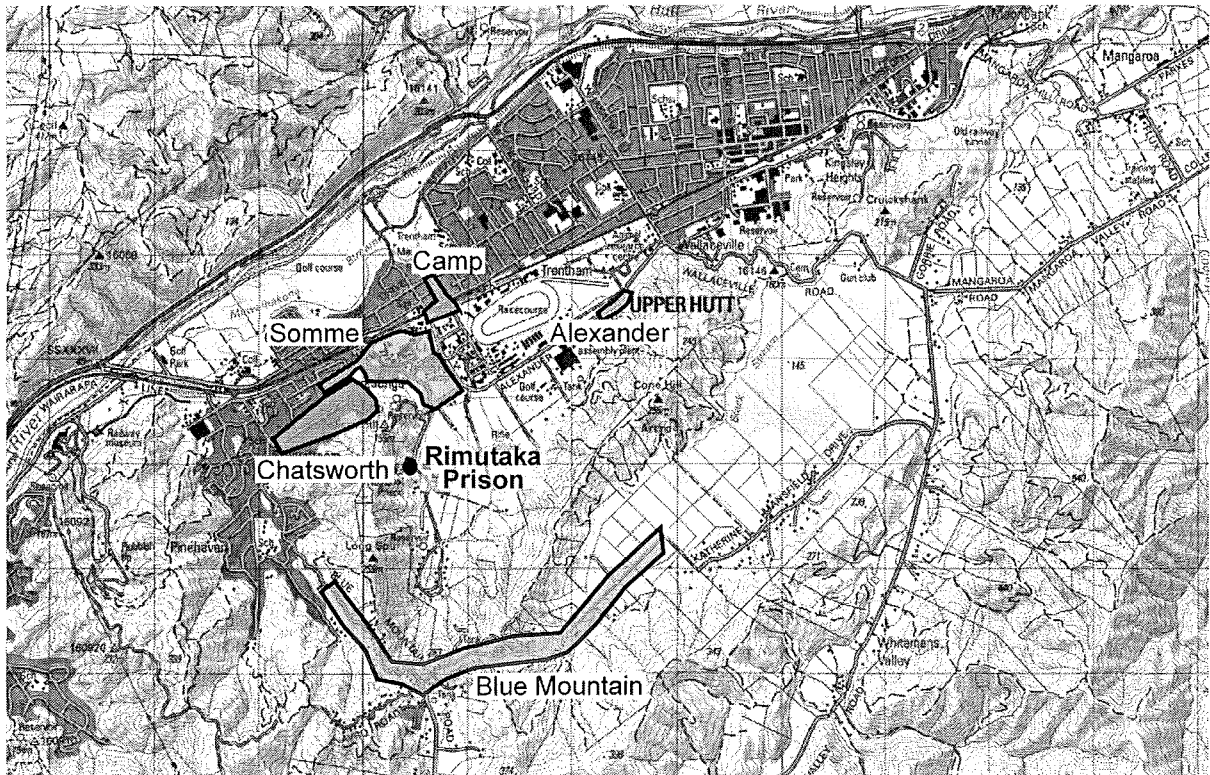
have increased relational to increase in muster, and are seemingly unaffected by new security procedures (security checks and approvals) introduced in 2000. Other frequent visitors to the prison include volunteers, inmate services, prison goods and service providers, and police.

The host community

The 'host community' of Rimutaka Prison as defined in this research, includes the Upper Hutt suburbs: Heretaunga-Silverstream, Trentham, and Blue Mountains. These suburbs surround the prison and are most likely to contain residents and businesses who view the prison as a 'neighbour'. However, due to the contiguous nature of this host community in relation to Upper Hutt as a whole, this case study gives special attention to the effects experienced by the wider Upper Hutt community as a result of the prison's presence and operation of Rimutaka Prison.

Upper Hutt is situated approximately 35 kilometres north east of Wellington city in the North Island of New Zealand. It is bounded to the south by Lower Hutt, to the north west by the Hutt River, State Highway 2, and the Tararua Range, and to the east by the Rimutaka Range. It is mostly a consolidated urban area, surrounded by bush clad ranges. It is generally seen as one of the lower socio-economic areas within the Wellington region, although it does have several pockets of higher socio-economic areas.

Figure 6: Rimutaka Prison and host community survey areas



Source: Morgan, Buckenham and Baines 2001, p. 8.

Links between the prison and its host community

There are two formal liaison links between Rimutaka Prison and its immediate neighbours. These links take the form of a community warning system and meetings held between the prison and its neighbours. A community warning system was set up in 1995 to warn neighbours in the Chatsworth Road area by telephone when an escape or other emergency occurs at the prison. Over the last twenty years occasional meetings have been held between the prison and its neighbours. These meetings have been held at the prison and have given neighbours the opportunity to discuss prison and community issues.

Other links between Rimutaka Prison and its host community and wider Upper Hutt community include, representation on the Safer Community Council, presentations by management to various community organisations and institutions, liaison between the prison's Maori Focus Unit and the Orongomai Marae, and prison open days.

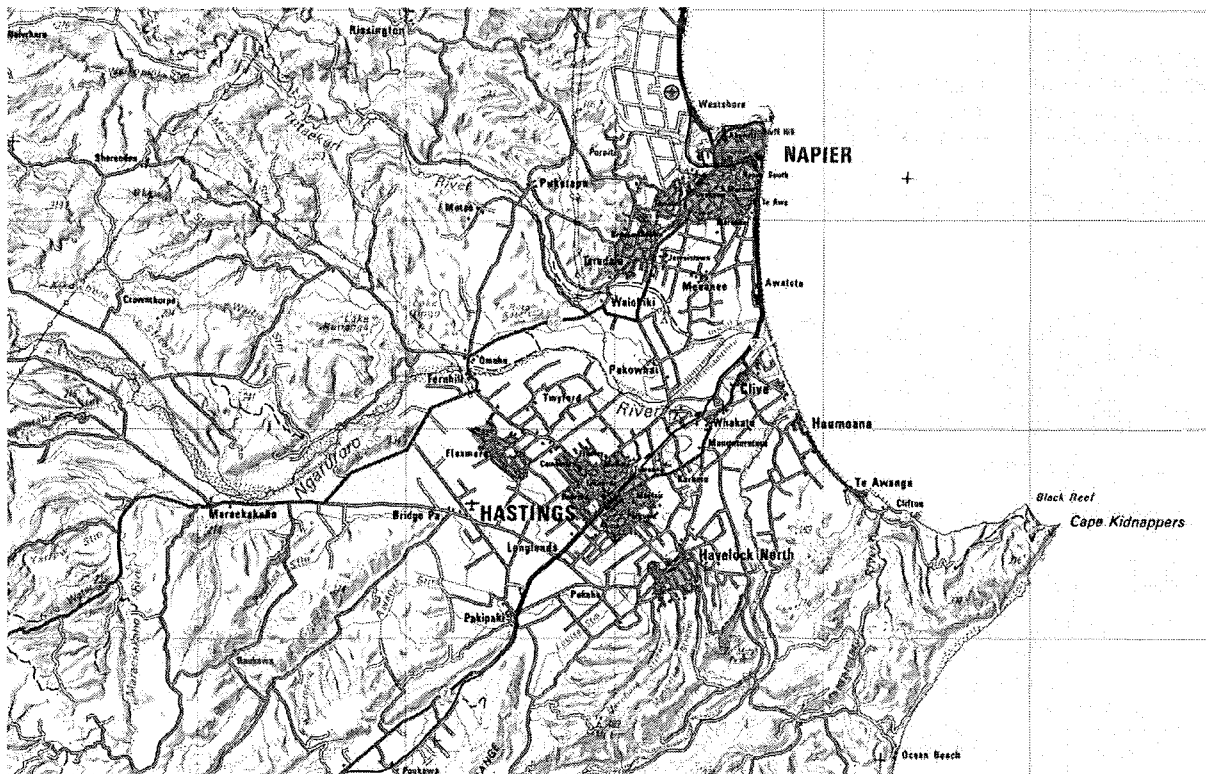
2.4 The Hawkes Bay Prison case study

The prison

Prison description, location, and inmate catchment

Hawkes Bay Prison, formerly known as Mangaroa Prison, was opened in 1989, and is located in the Hawkes Bay Region approximately three kilometres¹¹ south west of Hastings. It is one of New Zealand's larger men's prisons accommodating minimum, medium, and remand security inmates.

¹¹ Measured in a direct line.

Figure 7: Location of Mangaroa

Source: Buckenham, Morgan and Baines 2002, p. 21.

Hawkes Bay Prison's catchment area is the East Coast of the North Island as far south as Waipukurau. Approximately 35% of the total inmates in Hawkes Bay Prison come from outside its catchment area. There are several reasons for this, including the presence of a Maori Focus Unit and Youth Unit. Hawkes Bay Prison's capacity and proximity to Auckland also means that it is often used to cater for its muster overflows.

Prison land

Hawkes Bay Prison was originally sited on 26 hectares of land designated for prison use. Over the last five years the Department of Corrections has acquired an additional 45 hectares of land bordering the original site. The Department of Corrections is in the process of applying to have this additional land designated for prison use. The underlying zone in this area is a 'Plains Zone'.

Prison security

There is no gatehouse or security fencing (only a farm fence) around the boundaries of Hawkes Bay Prison. A deer fence was being constructed around the perimeter of the market garden on Pakipaki and Mangaroa Roads at the time of this research. Individual units are securely fenced (single fence around two units, double fences around six units) and lit at night.

Prison structures, facilities, and utilities

There are eight separate units at Hawkes Bay Prison, which accommodate minimum, medium and remand security inmates. Together, these units provide 568 beds. Only one of these units existed in 1989 when Hawkes Bay Prison was opened. Hawkes Bay Prison has several special units including a Maori Focus Unit, a Youth Unit, and Self Care Units.

Although Hawkes Bay Prison has not had a prison staff village as other prisons have, it has in the past owned three houses in Hastings to house staff. These were sold in 1998.

Hawkes Bay Prison is connected to local sewage and water utilities.

Prison industries

There are a number of onsite industries in which inmates may be employed, including: joinery/timber (established in 1998), horticulture (established in 1997) and farming (established in 1989 when the prison opened). Inmates may also partake in catering and laundry work or offsite forestry work.

Inmates, staff, and visitors

Hawkes Bay Prison has the capacity to accommodate 568 minimum, medium and remand security inmates. In March 2001, the inmate muster was around 554. The muster at Hawkes Bay Prison has increased significantly since its opening in 1989.

In July 2002, staff numbers at Hawkes Bay Prison stood at 290.

At the time of the case study, visitors could visit inmates at the following times:

- Monday 12:30pm-3:00pm (Unit 2 Remand)
- Wednesday 12:30pm-3:00pm (Unit 2 Remand), 1:00pm-3:00pm (Unit 2 At Risk),
1:30pm-2:30pm (Unit 1 Segregated)
- Thursday 12:30pm-3:00pm (Unit 2 At Risk), 1:00pm-3:00pm (Unit 2 Other)
- Friday 12:30pm-3:00pm (Unit 2 Remand), 1:30pm-3:30pm (Unit 1 Standard)
- Saturday 1:00pm-3:30pm (Units 4, 6, 7, 8, Youth), 9:30am-2:30pm
- Sunday 1:00pm-3:30pm (Units 4, 6, 7, 8, Youth).

Typical visitor numbers were not readily available during the case study's fieldwork period in March 2001. However, research carried out in February 2001 for the second stage of the research programme (*Historical Analysis*) indicated that approximately 300 visitors could visit inmates in Hawkes Bay Prison per week. There were also indications at this time that new security checks initiated in 2000 had not had any long term affect on visitor numbers. Other frequent visitors to the prison include volunteers, inmate services, prison goods and service providers, and police.

The host community

The host community of Hawkes Bay Prison is defined in this research to include:

- roads surrounding the prison, including Mangaroa Road, Paki Paki Road, Maraekakaho Road, Rosser Road, Ru Collin Road, Longlands Road (West), and Stock Road,
- the Bridge Pa settlement, and
- the Pakipaki settlement.

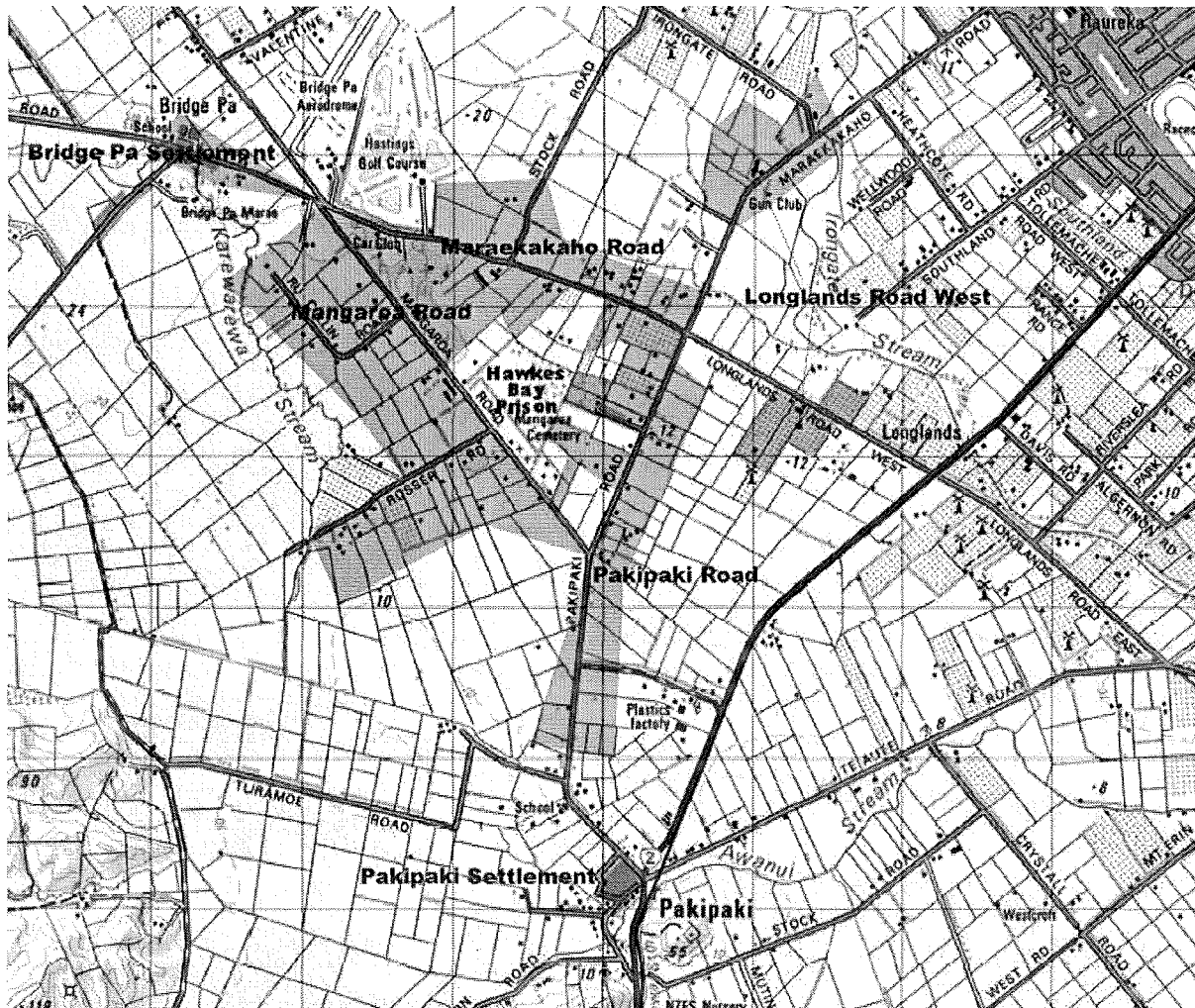
Together these areas cover an approximate radius of three kilometres around the prison.

This host community referred to as the Mangaroa community in this research, is located approximately three¹⁴ kilometres south west of Hastings in the North Island of New Zealand.

The Mangaroa community is a well established community on the outskirts of Hastings, in a region known for its favourable climate and plentiful fruit. Land use in Mangaroa is characterised by its lifestyle blocks, 'residential/business' properties, orchards, and Maori communities. Since 1997 there has also been huge vineyard developments west of Mangaroa.

¹⁴ Measured in a direct line.

Figure 8: Hawkes Bay Prison and host community survey areas



Source: Buckenham, Morgan and Baines 2002, p. 8.

Other than the development of these vineyards there has not been any significant developments, partly due to the large parts of land in the locality classified as ‘confined aquifer’ in the Proposed District Plan (which prevents it from being developed intensively in order to preserve its favoured agricultural/horticultural uses), new rules that require that land is not subdivided down to less than 12 hectares (rather than the previous six hectares), and a strategic policy which has encouraged development in Havelock North.

Links between the prison and its host community

Hawkes Bay Prison has well established links with its host community through its appointed cultural advisor. The prison has met with the community by way of community meetings and barbeques in the past. This practice has lapsed in the last few years. There is also a community warning system.

Other links between Hawkes Bay Prison and the Mangaroa community include prison open days, and presentations by prison staff to various community organisations and institutions.

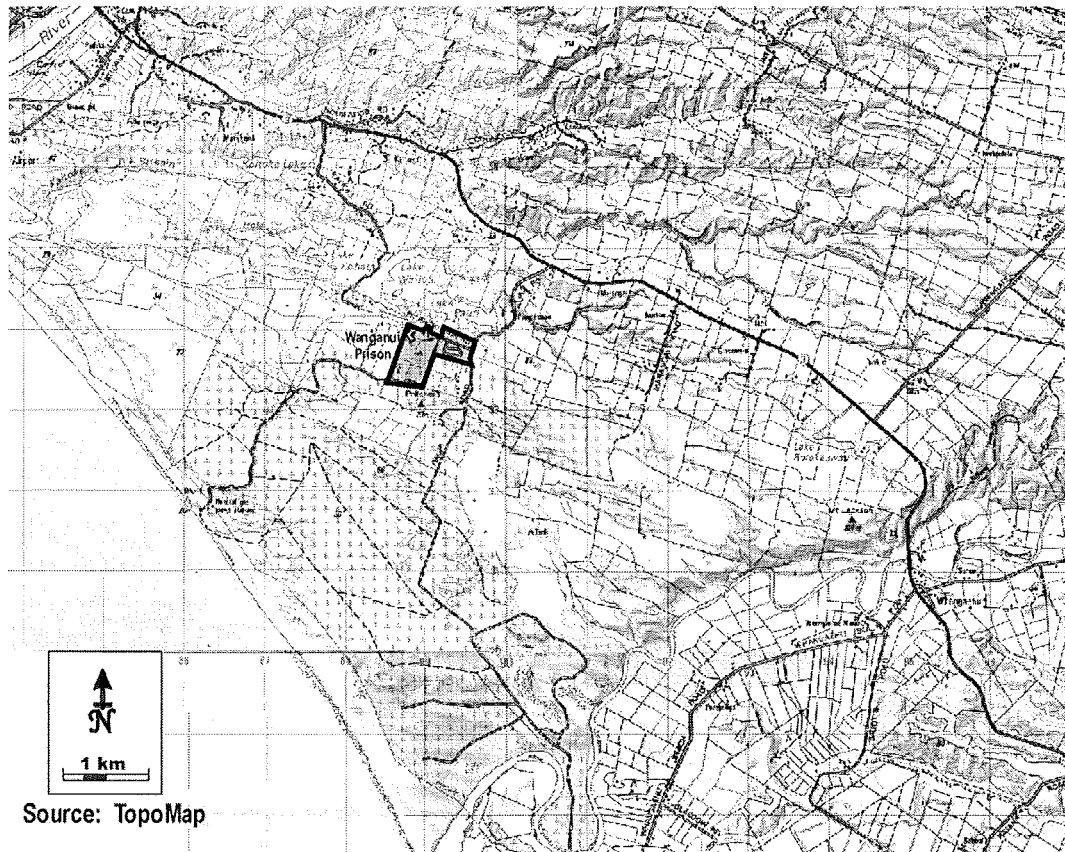
2.5 The Wanganui Prison case study

The prison

Prison description, location, and inmate catchment

Wanganui Prison was opened in 1978, and is located on the west coast of the North Island approximately six kilometres¹⁵ south east of Wanganui city. It is one of New Zealand's medium sized men's prisons accommodating minimum, medium, and remand security inmates; and is part of a wider North Island region which also includes New Plymouth Prison, Manawatu Prison, and Hawkes Bay Prison.

¹⁵ Measured in a direct line.

Figure 9: Location of Kaitoke

Source: Buckenham, Morgan and Baines 2002, p. 20.

Wanganui Prison's catchment area is in the west coast/central North Island and includes Waverley, Wanganui, Marton and the Ohakune/Taihape District Court area. Approximately 72% of the total inmates in Wanganui Prison come from outside its catchment area. There are several reasons for this, including the presence of a National Police Protection Unit, an At Risk Unit, Self Care Units, and a Maori Focus Unit.

Prison land

Wanganui Prison is sited on 49 hectares of land designated for prison use. Up until 1999, the prison also managed 805 hectares of pine forest located south of the prison. In 1999 the Department of Corrections sold this forest to Treasury for possible Treaty of Waitangi claims. The underlying zone in this area is a 'Rural Zone'.

Prison security

There is no gatehouse or security fencing (only a deer fence) around the boundaries of Wanganui Prison. Individual units are however securely fenced and lit with security lighting at night.

Prison structures, facilities, and utilities

Four separate units/complexes at Wanganui Prison together provide 370 beds. There is provision for nine at risk inmates. Only one of these units existed in 1978 when Wanganui Prison was opened.

Up until 1999, Wanganui Prison also had a prison staff village on site which provided accommodation for prison staff and their families. This village comprised 30 houses and single quarters, which accommodated approximately 120 people. In 1999, the prison staff village closed. All of the staff village houses were sold privately and moved off site.

Wanganui Prison has its own water bores and a sewage treatment plant.

Prison industries

There are a number of on-site industries in which inmates may be employed, including: joinery and timber processing (established 1978), concrete manufacturing (established 1996), engineering workshop (established in 1978), and horticulture (established in 1978). There are several other industries which have recently ceased to operate, including forestry and shoe manufacturing.

Inmates, staff, and visitors

Wanganui Prison has the capacity to accommodate 370 minimum, medium and remand security inmates. As at 15th July 2002, the inmate muster was around 330.

As at 19th July 2002, there were just over 200 staff employed at Wanganui Prison.

It has been estimated, based on visitor records in July 2002, that approximately 130 people can visit inmates in Wanganui Prison in one week.

The host community

The host community of Wanganui Prison is defined in this research to include:

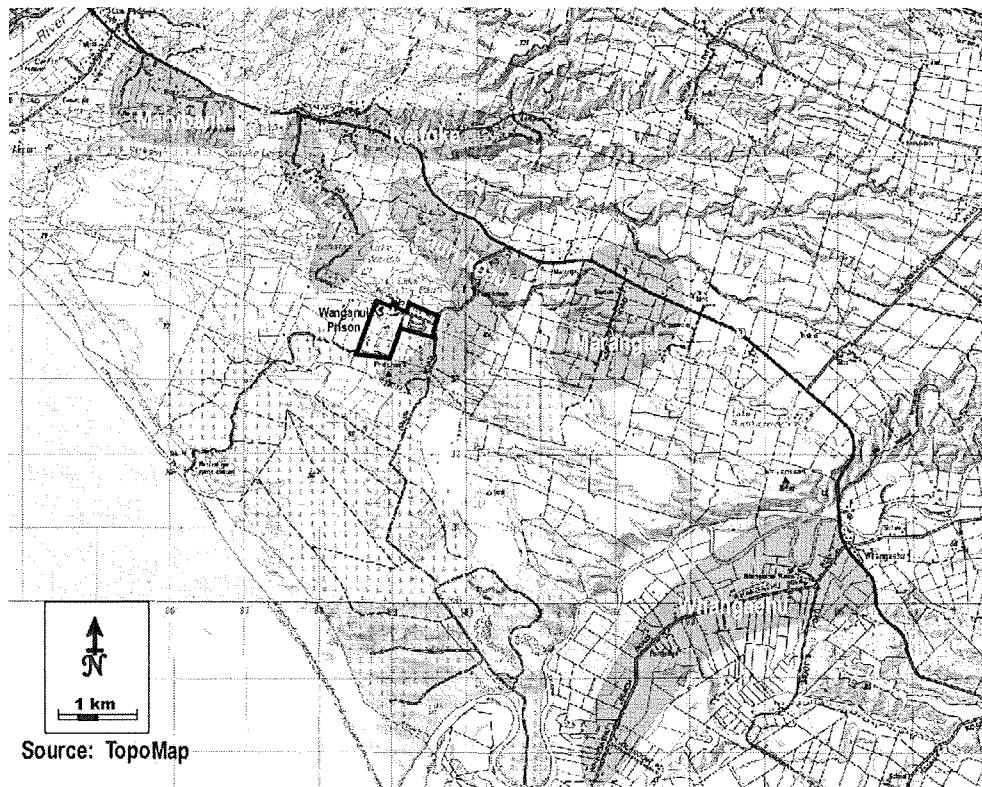
- roads surrounding the prison, including Pauri Road, Kaitoke Road, Marangai Road, and State Highway 3 (between Marybank and Whangaehu), and
- nearby settlements, including Kaitoke, Marybank, and Whangaehu.

This host community is referred to as the Kaitoke community in this research, the border of which is located approximately two¹⁸ kilometres south east of Wanganui in the North Island of New Zealand. Although residents of Marangai Road, Whangaehu and Marybank do not live in the “Kaitoke community”, they have been included as participants in this field research as they live in an area which borders Kaitoke and where operational off-site effects are likely to impact upon them.

¹⁸

Measured in a direct line.

Figure 10: Wanganui Prison and host community survey areas



Source: Buckenham, Morgan and Baines 2002, p. 8.

The Kaitoke community as referred to in this research is a well established community, which contains a number of scattered rural dwellings and several small settlements. Land use in Kaitoke is characterised by its farming properties, lifestyle blocks, and small residential communities. There has not been any significant rural, residential, commercial, or community development in these areas in recent years.

Links between the prison and its host community

Wanganui Prison does not currently, and has not in recent times, had any formal liaison with the host community of Kaitoke in the form of community meetings. However when the staff village was on site there was regular social contact between staff and neighbours.

Although there is a community warning system, there is uncertainty amongst some neighbours as to the efficiency of the system and whether or not they are on it, while others expressed a desire to be on it. This seems to be partly due to the fact that there have not been many escapes since a rash of escapes in the late 1980s and early 1990s and the shifting of some local co-ordinators.

2.6 Summary of the prisons' characteristics

The following table summarises the main characteristics of the prisons featured in the four Taylor Baines's case studies.

Table 6: Summary of the prisons' characteristics

Main characteristics	Rolleston Prison	Rimutaka Prison	Hawkes Bay Prison	Wanganui Prison
Date est.	1962	1967	1989	1978
Zoning	Rural zone	Rural Hill Blue Mountains zone Special Activity zone Rural Lifestyle zone	Plains zone	Rural zone
Land size	63 hectares	189 hectares	71 hectares	49 hectares
Catchment area	South Is. north of Timaru	North Is. south of Paraparaumu and Masterton	East Coast of North Is. to Waipukurau in the south	West/central North Is.
Security levels	Minimum Low medium	Minimum Low medium High medium	Minimum Medium Remand	Minimum Medium Remand
No. of units	Five	Eight	Eight	Four
Special units	Sex offenders Drug and alcohol	Maori Focus Violent Offenders Youth	Maori Focus Self Care Youth	
Capacity/beds	320	486	568	370
Muster ²	260	486	554	330
Staff	93	285	290	200
On-site industries	Tailor shop Vegetable gardens Nursery	Joinery workshop Nursery Farm	Joinery/timber Horticulture Farming	Joinery Timber Concrete manufact. Engineering workshop Horticulture
Sewage, Water facilities	Sewage, Water	-	-	Sewage, Water
Fencing	Boundary – deer fence Units – full fencing	Boundary - none Units – full fencing	Boundary – partial farm and deer fence Units – full fencing	Boundary – deer fence Units – full fencing

² At the time of the case study.

Chapter 3

Insights into the case study approach, process and method

3.1 Introduction

This chapter summarises social assessment process and method, and describes and discusses Taylor Baines' case study approach, process and method in the prison research. The summary of social assessment process and method provides a framework to understand and assess the approach, process and method used by Taylor Baines. It also distinguishes between methods used to assess the likely social impacts of proposed projects or policies, and methods used to assess the social impacts of existing projects or policies. The description and discussion of Taylor Baines' case study approach, process and method in the prison research provides an insight into social assessment in practice, and highlights some practice-related issues.

3.2 Social assessment process and method

The social assessment approach, process and method used by Taylor Baines in their prison research, was based on the approach, process and method advocated in Taylor, Bryan and Goodrich (1995). Taylor, Bryan and Goodrich state that although there is an emerging consensus among social assessment practitioners about best practice process and method, there are still variations to the models of practice suggested in the literature (1995, p. 67). Taylor, Bryan and Goodrich review these varying models and advocate a new process. This process is described as anticipatory, iterative and adaptive, and issues oriented. It is also participatory, in that it puts strong emphasis on consultation with affected and interested parties. The process advocated involves six stages: scoping, profiling, formulation of alternatives, projection and estimation of effects, monitoring, mitigation and management, and evaluation. These are briefly described below. Although Taylor Baines' approach was based on the approach advocated in Taylor,

Bryan and Goodrich (1995), it does not follow it strictly because the prison research was a social assessment of the impacts of an existing facility, not a social assessment of the likely impacts of a proposed facility. The differences in approach are therefore also described below.

Scoping

Scoping

Identification of issues, variables to be described/measured, links between bio-physical and social variables, likely areas of impact, and study boundaries¹

The activities carried out during scoping are for the most part based on available secondary data, and involve the initiation of a consultative process. If the social assessment is part of an environmental impact assessment, then it is particularly important that the activities are a co-operative and interdisciplinary effort. If the social assessment is overly complex, then a webbing of effects exercise may be necessary. (Taylor, Bryan and Goodrich 1995, p. 78-81).

Profiling

Profiling

Overview and analysis of current social context and historical trends²

Profiling assists with decision-making prior to the assessment of effects, and provides a “point of departure for the estimation of effects” (Taylor, Bryan and Goodrich 1995, p. 82). Because Taylor Baines’ prison research was a social assessment of the impacts of an existing facility, the profiling was not used as a “point of departure for the estimation of effects”. Rather, its main purpose was to assist with decision-making prior to the assessment.

A profile should include:

¹ Taylor, Bryan and Goodrich (1995, p. 77).

² Taylor, Bryan and Goodrich (1995, p. 77).

- a description of social trends and current conditions;
- an analysis of significant social and cultural values and the relationship of these values to the proposed change;
- a description of the local and regional economy and potential economic links between the proposed change and the affected area;
- maps illustrating boundaries of public agencies, local authorities, land use zones and tribal authorities, and a description;
- a plan for the assessment of social effects;
- documentation of data sources;
- discussion of data reliability and availability.

(Taylor, Bryan and Goodrich 1995, p. 82).

Data sources include:

- statistical data such as census reports;
- written social data such as letters to editors;
- observation and discussions with affected and interested people;
- survey data;
- public participation data;
- agency or project personnel.

(Taylor, Bryan and Goodrich 1995, p. 83).

Formulation of alternatives

Formulation of alternatives

Examination and comparison of options for change³

Alternatives, including a 'no-go' option, arise out of project and policy details, and out of the scoping and profiling stages of social assessment. These are best considered early on during the process when intensive discussions between the practitioners and the proponents are taking place. (Taylor, Bryan and Goodrich 1995, p. 83, 84). This stage of a social assessment of the likely impacts of a proposed project/policy is not relevant in a social assessment of the impacts of an existing project/policy, and therefore was not used in Taylor Baines' prison research.

Projection and estimation of effects

Projection and estimation of effects

Detailed examination of impacts of one or more options against decision criteria⁴

This detailed examination of impacts includes the identification of likely needs for mitigation and management of impacts, the projection of effects, and the consideration of both positive and negative views of effects. Taylor, Bryan and Goodrich (1995, p. 85) note four specific tasks to do during this phase:

- 1) determine the scale, intensity, duration and probability of effects,
- 2) decide if risk analysis is needed,
- 3) compare effects and implied social, economic, and resource trade-offs,
- 4) display information in environmental documents as is appropriate and required by consent procedures.

³ Taylor, Bryan and Goodrich (1995, p. 77).

⁴ Taylor, Bryan and Goodrich (1995, p. 77).

In a social assessment of the impacts of an existing project or policy, this stage of the assessment can be more accurately described as the *identification and description of effects*. In Taylor Baines' prison research, the focus of this stage of the assessment was on identifying and describing the effects experienced by the host communities of the prisons, and on identifying ways to address any negative effects experienced by the host communities. In addition to identifying mitigation strategies for the prisons and host communities in the prison research, Taylor Baines also kept note of the possible implications for the siting, planning, and management of any future prison developments in New Zealand.

Monitoring, mitigation and management

Monitoring, mitigation and management

Collection of information about actual effects, and the application of this information by the different participants in the process to mitigate negative effects and manage change in general⁵

Monitoring also contributes to the evaluation process. Effective monitoring requires the establishment of systems to collect, store, and analyse monitoring data. It should be conducted throughout the process of change and integrated with project management as early on in the process as possible. (Taylor, Bryan and Goodrich 1995, p. 89-92). This stage of a social assessment of the likely impacts of a proposed project/policy is not relevant in a social assessment of the impacts of an existing project/policy, and therefore was not used in Taylor Baines' prison research.

⁵ Taylor, Bryan and Goodrich (1995, p. 77).

Evaluation

Evaluation

Systematic, retrospective review of the social effects of the change being assessed including the social assessment process that was employed⁶

Evaluation is “separate from, but complementary to, monitoring and the management of social impacts” (Taylor, Bryan and Goodrich 1995, p. 92). The process may require more data, and according to Casley and Kumar, should be conducted three times – in the middle of the proposal’s implementation, at the end of its implementation, and well after the proposal’s implementation (in Taylor, Bryan and Goodrich 1995, p. 93). Although this is an important part of managing change, it is often neglected. (Taylor, Bryan and Goodrich 1995, p. 92-93). This stage of a social assessment of the likely impacts of a proposed project/policy is not relevant in a social assessment of the impacts of an existing project/policy, and therefore was not used in Taylor Baines’ prison research.

3.3 Taylor Baines’ case study approach, process and method – insights and issues

This section outlines and discusses the planning, preparation, fieldwork, analysis, and write up process undertaken by Taylor Baines for its four prison cases studies. Specifically, it provides a description of why and how the activities were carried out, detail relating to each case study, and commentary from the perspective of a key researcher involved throughout the process. In doing so, the chapter provides an insight into social assessment in practice, highlights some of the practice related issues that arose, and further examines the use of social assessment as a tool for assessing the social impacts of existing projects/policies. The chapter also highlights aspects of the assessment process that worked well.

⁶ Taylor, Bryan and Goodrich (1995, p. 77).

Planning and preparation

Teamwork

An approach based on teamwork was used throughout the Taylor Baines' case studies. Two to three people played a major role during each of the three main stages of the prison research (Sector Review, Historical Analysis, Case Studies). In addition, the team consulted with other members of Taylor Baines, a peer reviewer outside of Taylor Baines, and the Department of Corrections at different times during the research. This provided an opportunity to review the research and to receive new ideas and suggestions from people with varying degrees of knowledge and experience. Teamwork was especially important during the planning and preparation stage, where brainstorming as a team and having the ability to share and allocate tasks, contributed to a productive and effective stage of the research.

Process of method selection

In any social research, method selection is an important factor influencing the research's ability to successfully answer its research questions. The process of method selection employed in the Taylor Baines' prison research involved addressing a series of key questions and bringing together the preliminary work carried out in stage one and two of the research (Sector Review and Historical Analysis). The starting point for selecting methods was to address the research question – *what social impacts are experienced by the host communities of New Zealand prisons?* This led to further questions – *what are the potential social impacts?* and *who and where is the host community?*

These two questions had been addressed during stage one and two of the research. A number of potential social impacts had been identified, including impacts on employment and the local economy, personal safety and crime, property values, community resources and services, community improvement, aesthetic values, environment and conservation, community prestige, and quality of life. The term host community was defined as:

the community resident in the geographic area most clearly associated with the prison facility. This geographic area may be defined by the prison facility's visibility, surrounding roads and access roads, and major topographical features. This community may be extended to include those who in a social sense feel affected in some way by the prison facility's presence. This connection may be acknowledged through associations such as community warning systems, or evident in the prison facility's name, prison staff residences, or the location of the prison facility's goods and service providers.

Note that the definition of host community and its application in practice was an issue for the research team, and one of the most interesting practice related issues to emerge from the prison research. This issue is described and explored further in Chapter 5.

Based on the information gathered in Stage One and Two of the prison research, it was possible to take a potential social impact and the definition of host community, and determine *what method would best access the data needed to answer the research question*. For example, social impact literature and Department of Corrections' documents identified inmate escapes as a potential social impact. This led to the question - *are the prison host communities affected by inmate escapes, and if so, how?* While secondary data could provide details of the number and type of escapes from a prison over time, another method was needed to assess the effect of these escapes, or the fear of escapes, on the host community. The size of the host communities meant that in depth interviews with prison neighbours using structured questionnaires was viable. This would allow the interviewers to explore issues such as the effect of inmate escapes, and to focus on the neighbours' descriptions of how they were affected. This also meant that there could be some systematic collection of data on experiences.

There were some potential effects however, that could not be addressed in questionnaires with neighbours, but required information from key members from the local and wider community. For example, effects on community resources and services. As these types of effects would require different information from different members of the community, it was decided that semi-structured interviews would be used. Semi-structured interviews would also be used to

collect information for the prison and host community profiles. To complement these profiles, observation (for example mapping) of the community would also be carried out.

A combination of secondary data collection, direct observation, structured questionnaires, and semi-structured interviews were therefore selected.

It should be noted that the research team was very aware of the need to go into the fieldwork with an open mind as to potential effects. Although, some potential effects had been identified and were used to select methods, it was acknowledged that other potential effects might not yet have been identified. The need to identify such effects was addressed in the questionnaire and interview design as described below.

Designing methods

Structured questionnaires

In designing structured questionnaires for neighbours (both residents and businesses) of the prison, the research team kept in mind the need to explore potential effects already identified, and potential effects not yet identified. It was also important that in exploring potential effects already identified, the researchers did not influence or suggest these to the interviewees. As a result, the questionnaire was designed around two types of questions – 1) ‘unprompted questions’ relating to experiences of effects (for example, *have you experienced any positive effects from the prison? or have you experienced any negative effects from the prison?*) (Section 3 of the questionnaire – see below), and 2) ‘prompted questions’ relating to specific potential effects identified in stage one and two of the research (Section 4 of the questionnaire – see below). Each of these effects were explored in detail, including questions relating to experience of the effect, changes over time, location of the effect, sources of the effect, frequency of the effect, and impact of the effect. An effort was also made throughout the questionnaire to provide opportunities to make additional comments.

The basic structure of the questionnaire was as follows –

- Section 1: Interview details
- Section 2: Interviewee characteristics
- Section 3: Unprompted questions
- Section 4: Details of effects and impacts
 - Section 4(a): Security lighting at the prison
 - Section 4(b): Visibility of the prison
 - Section 4(c): Traffic associated with the prison
 - Section 4(d): Noise from the prison
 - Section 4(e): Industrial discharges from prison operations
 - Section 4(f): Inmate escapes
 - Section 4(g): Prison visitors
 - Section 4(h): Inmate families
 - Section 4(i): Inmates working off site
 - Section 4(j): The prison's purchases
- Section 5: Proximity effects
- Section 6: Other effects/issues
- Section 7: Other effects/issues
- Section 8: Cumulative effects
- Section 9: Relationship between community and prison
- Section 10: Any other comments
- Section 11: Interviewee profile.

The number and depth of issues to be explored with neighbours meant that the questionnaire was long and complex. The implications of this in the field are discussed below.

Key informant interviews

Interview schedules were prepared in order to guide the discussions with community members/key informants from the prisons and the host communities. These schedules contained

key words and questions aimed at obtaining information for profiles, assessing whether potential effects were actual or perceived effects, and exploring any other effects not expected.

Ethics

Taylor Baines' prison research was developed and carried out in accordance with the ethical requirements of the New Zealand Association for Impact Assessment and the Sociological Association of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Taylor Baines note that "in keeping with these ethical requirements, participation in the research was voluntary, and informed consent was sought (verbal)" (Morgan, Buckenham and Baines 2002, p. 10). An information sheet was also provided to residents and businesses who participated in the survey. This information sheet explained the research, assured anonymity, and noted the right of participants to withdraw their participation or any information provided at any time prior to the publication of the research.

Logistics

The size and nature of the case studies were such that the logistics were a significant part of the research process. Detailed planning and organisation was needed in preparation for the fieldwork. This was particularly important for the three case studies outside of Christchurch where Taylor Baines is based. Prison management needed to be contacted and the research explained, key informant interviews with prison staff and key members of the community needed to be set up, a timeframe for the fieldwork needed to be set, and flights, transport and accommodation needed to be organised. The Rolleston Prison Case Study provided some indication of the likely time needed. Generally, a week was set aside for work in the field, although return dates were left open.

Fieldwork

Teamwork

Teamwork was also an important aspect of the case study fieldwork. Although budget constraints do not always allow for more than one field researcher, the use of two researchers in the Taylor Baines' case studies proved invaluable. Having two researchers in the field enabled the workload to be shared, and for support to always be on hand. In particular, it allowed the researchers to accommodate unplanned interviews and meetings⁷, discuss ideas, concerns and issues, and make fieldwork decisions in consultation with a colleague. Working with another researcher also provided additional security when surveying door to door⁸.

Field observations

The researchers used direct observation to obtain more profiling information, including community layout, and the location of neighbours, businesses, community organisations and facilities, local historic sites, local roads, and local topographical features such as rivers. Observations were noted in detail on maps. Generally, the researchers tried to carry out the observations on arrival in the area and before the surveying and interviewing took place. Observations familiarised the researchers with the area and therefore assisted with the research activities and field analysis.

Key informant interviews

Key informant interviews were conducted with prison staff and members of the local community. These interviews provided information for profiling, assessment of effects, and possible mitigation strategies. As noted earlier, some interviews were pre-arranged, others were set up once in the field, and interview schedules were used to guide discussions. Interviews

⁷ Neighbours and key informants would often suggest other people to talk to.

⁸ Although interviewers interviewed separately, knowing another researcher was nearby helped with safety issues.

lasted approximately one hour. Follow-ups and some interviews that could not be done during the fieldwork were conducted over the telephone after the fieldwork was completed.

Prison interviews

Interviews with prison staff were carried out by both researchers, and usually lasted two full days at each prison. These took place at the beginning of the fieldwork, so that the researchers could familiarise themselves with the prison facility. A wide range of staff were interviewed, including prison management, property management, unit managers, industry managers, prison chaplains, and administration staff (see Appendix 2 for a list of those interviewed in each case study). The large number and range of staff interviewed proved to be particularly important for two reasons: 1) many informal links between prison staff and neighbours were revealed, and 2) some staff had been employed for considerable lengths of time and were therefore able to provide knowledge of past prison practices.

Community interviews

Community interviews were conducted throughout the fieldwork when time permitted. These provided useful information for profiling, assessment of effects, and possible mitigation strategies. A wide range of people were interviewed, including representatives from local residents' associations, school principals, members of local marae, police, local clubs, Pillars, Pars, prisoner fellowship members, territorial authority planners and community development managers (see Appendix 3 for a list of those interviewed for each of the case studies).

Structured questionnaires

Areas of interviewing in the host community were categorised according to their proximity to the prison and other topographical features that made them distinct from other areas in the community. While intensive interviewing took place closest to the prison, efforts were made by the interviewers to interview all immediate neighbours of the prison. Rapid interviews, containing only a selection of the questions from the full structured questionnaire, were also

used. These were used as the researcher moved further away from the prison and as neighbours started to consistently report only a few effects. A decision as to when to use 'rapids' was made by the researchers while in the field. Access to the participants was gained by 'cold calling' door to door. Some participants would also assist the interviewers by ringing neighbours and setting up an interview.

The researchers encountered a very high response rate and level of interest expressed in the research. Participants were very receptive, despite the cold calling and the length of the interview. Interviews often lasted an hour or more, although there was occasionally a short interview when a resident or business had few or no effects to report. Researchers surmised that the high levels of willingness to participate and enthusiasm in participating was due to the vested interest residents had in the prison facilities and their operation, and the nature of the communities, being small and close knit.

In conducting the interviews, the researchers were very aware of the potential for raising sensitive issues such as the effects of inmate escapes, and the ethical requirement to 'do no harm'. An extreme example of such a situation was during the Wanganui Prison Case Study, where the interviewers talked to a resident, who had, along with her family, been held captive by an escapee. The same escapee had also kidnapped the resident. This resident was initially contacted through another resident who had been interviewed by the researchers. Setting up the interview in this way helped make sure the resident was willing and able to participate. The interview itself was conducted with caution and sensitivity throughout.

Generally, the researchers found the interviews with neighbours an informative and effective means to assess the effects of the prisons and to suggest possible mitigation strategies. For example, neighbours would suggest ways in which prison management could help alleviate the fear of escapes. A common suggestion was the implementation and maintenance of a community phone warning system.

The following table provides details of the structured questionnaires carried out in each case study:

Table 7: Structured questionnaires carried out in each case study

STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRES				
	Rolleston Prison	Rimutaka Prison	Hawkes Bay Prison	Wanganui Prison
Full questionnaires	46 residents 10 businesses	48 residents 7 businesses	51 residents 8 businesses	33 residents 2 businesses
Rapid interviews	41 residents	0	19 residents	10 residents
TOTAL	97	55	78	45

Analysis and results write up

Following the case study fieldwork, data was entered and analysed, and reports written. Feedback meetings were also held after the completion of draft case study reports. On the completion of data collection in the field, key informant interview data was collated using the 'Ask Sam' software programme – a programme that enables notes from semi-structured or unstructured interviews to be organised according to pre-determined keywords, therefore making it easier to analyse. Data from the structured questionnaires was entered into a custom made database according to the interviewees' location in the host community (i.e. which survey area questionnaires belonged to). This was important as the analysis not only looked at the effects experienced in the host community as a whole, but looked at whether or not the experience of effects differed within the community, that is, whether or not there was a distribution or pattern of effects.

The analysis involved in a research project of this nature was lengthy and complex. The analysis was based on determining whether or not the potential effects identified during the initial stages of the research were 'actual effects', and on identifying any other effects not anticipated but evident through observation, key informant interviews, structured questionnaires, or secondary data analysis. The analysis was descriptive and sometimes quantitative, but not statistical in nature.

In determining whether or not potential effects are ‘actual effects’, it is important to differentiate between ‘actual effects’ and ‘perceived effects’. For example, it is likely that residents’ comments about the effects on property values are only perceived effects. Investigation and corroboration from other sources would be needed to determine whether it is an actual effect. However, having noted the difference between perceived and actual effects, this is not to say that perceived effects are without value or significance. The existence of a perceived effect, especially if it is perceived by a number of residents may be in itself the cause of an effect. For example, if a resident believes that an effect is occurring, then this belief may in turn cause stress or anxiety or cause the resident to alter their behaviour or lifestyle choices in some way. A resident may for example avoid a certain area if they believe there is a risk to their personal safety. Also if a perceived effect is prominent enough, it is foreseeable that it may affect residents from outside the host community who for example may elect not to purchase in the vicinity of the facility. It is therefore important to report both perceived and actual effects, but to take care in determining whether an effect is perceived or actual, and in noting whether these effects are supported by any other empirical data.

Once draft reports were completed, feedback meetings were held for each case study. The purpose of these meetings was to check for accuracy and validity of the research findings, and to inform the participants of the overall findings. The feedback meetings and the research results were received positively by the participants. The following meetings were held for each case study:

Table 8: Feedback meetings for each prison case study

Prison case study	Feedback meetings (held separately)
Rolleston Prison	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Community members (questionnaire participants) - Prison management
Rimutaka Prison	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Community members (questionnaire participants) - Prison site manager - Wellington Regional Maori Services Development Advisor and the Prison Maori Focus Unit Manager - Representatives from the Upper Hutt City Council
Hawkes Bay Prison	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Community members (questionnaire participants) - Site manager and Regional Advisor for Maori Service Department
Wanganui Prison	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Community members (questionnaire participants) - Prison superintendent - Community Development Manager for the Wanganui District Council

3.4 Summary

This chapter outlined the social assessment process, and described the case study approach, process and method used by Taylor Baines in its prison research. In doing so, it provided an insight into social assessment in practice, highlighted some practice-related issues, and explored the use of social assessment as a tool for assessing the social impacts of an existing project or policy.

Practice-related issues

There were a number of practice-related issues, which emerged from the prison research. While some of these issues are not new to social assessment or social research, the prison research reinforced the importance of these issues and the practices developed to date to address them. Other issues make new observations or raise new questions that can contribute to debate around social assessment and social research approach, process and method. Some of the practice-related issues and other interesting aspects of research process that arose include:

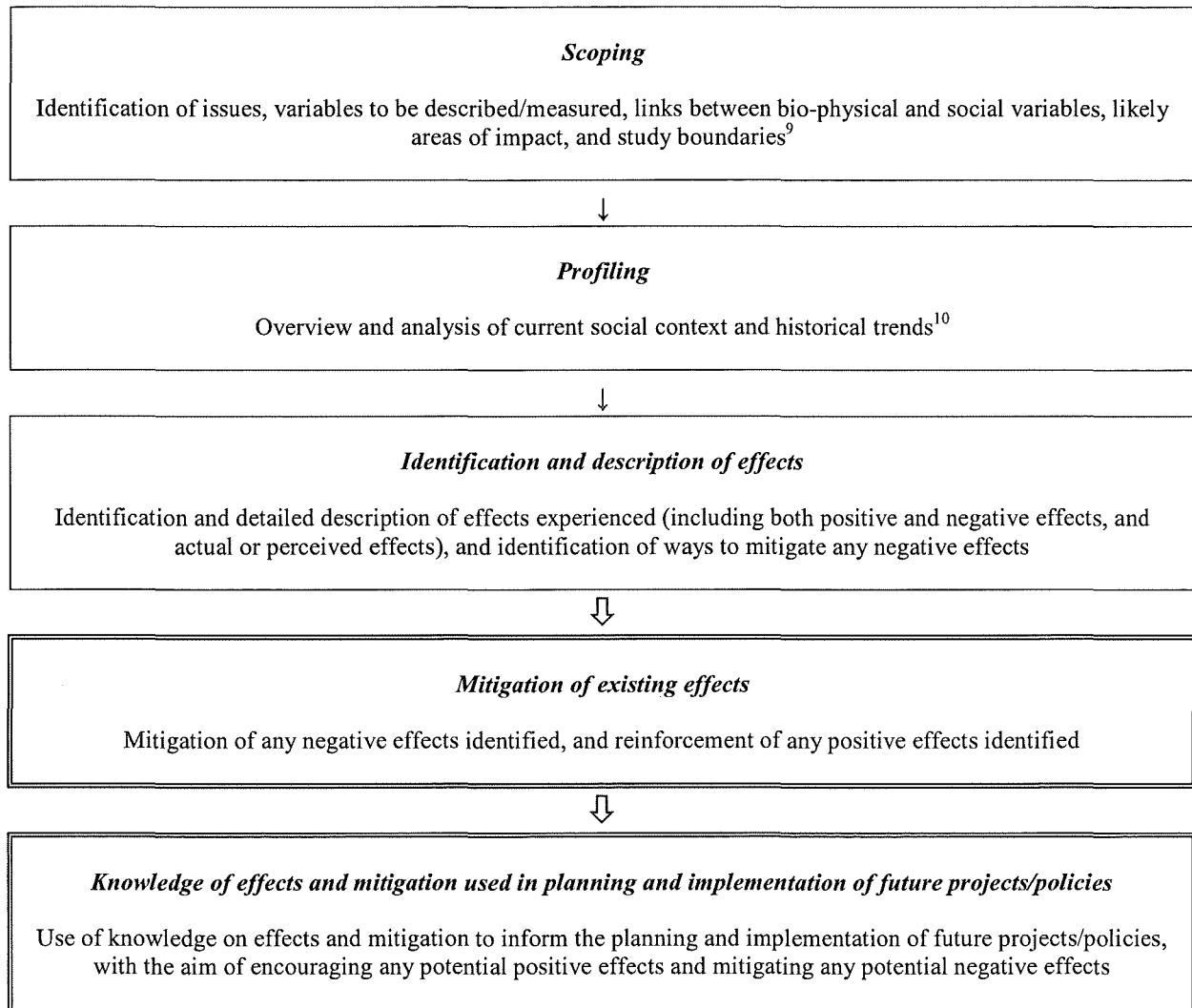
- Teamwork – teamwork during the planning, fieldwork, and analysis stages of the research was important because it enabled the exchange of ideas, the integration of different perspectives, knowledge and expertise, and support and security for the researchers;
- Sequence of fieldwork activities – conducting field observations at the outset of the case study fieldwork was important because it enabled the researchers to familiarise themselves with the community (including local topography and the location of residences, businesses and local landmarks); this in turn enabled the researchers to clarify and identify issues specific to each host community, to achieve a greater level of understanding in relation to the host community's experience of effects, and to encourage participants to invest in the research;
- High response rates – the researchers were somewhat surprised by the high response rates and level of interest expressed in the research by the host community members; the high response rates were probably due to the vested interest that the communities had in the research, and reinforced the need for social assessments of the impacts of existing projects and policies;
- Appropriate experience and skills – the sensitive nature of some aspects of the research required the researchers to possess a level of experience and skill that enabled them to 'do no harm';
- Comprehensive survey instruments – a comprehensive and lengthy questionnaire was needed to enable the researchers to accurately identify and describe the effects experienced by the host communities; although this raised issues to do with time and the willingness of community members to participate, it proved to be one of the most crucial elements to successfully assessing the social impacts of an existing project or policy;
- Defining 'host community' – the case studies raised questions about the appropriate definition of 'host community'; this is another crucial issue as it affects the selection of

research methods and ultimately the ‘experience of effects’ reported (as such this issue is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5);

- Identifying a ‘pattern’ or ‘distribution’ of effects – the researchers found that categorising the prison neighbours according to their location and proximity to the prison, assisted with the identification of any patterns or distribution of effects during the research analysis;
- Availability of secondary data – useful secondary data was not always available to the researchers; this is an ongoing issue for social assessment practitioners;
- Usefulness of feedback – feedback meetings proved to be important mechanisms for checking the research results, and getting mitigation strategies implemented.

Social assessment as a tool for assessing the social impacts of existing projects and policies

Taylor Baines' prison research highlighted the different approach, process and method required in an assessment of the social impacts of an existing project or policy. This approach can be summarised as follows:



This approach differs from traditional approaches to social assessment in that it focuses on the identification and description of effects, rather than the projection and estimation of effects. It

⁹ Taylor, Bryan and Goodrich (1995, p. 77).

¹⁰ Taylor, Bryan and Goodrich (1995, p. 77).

also skips three other stages of a traditional social assessment – the formulation of alternatives, monitoring, mitigation and management, and evaluation. These stages are replaced with efforts to mitigate existing adverse effects and enhance existing positive effects, and efforts to ensure that the knowledge gained from the social assessment is disseminated and integrated into future project and policy planning and implementation.

Chapter 4

Case study findings and implications of the research

4.1 Introduction

This chapter summarises Taylor Baines' case study results (operational and long term effects of the prisons on their host communities), and the implications of these for the siting, planning and management of existing and future prisons in New Zealand. The chapter also notes the use and benefits of Taylor Baines' prison research to date. As such, this chapter provides an insight into social assessment in practice, and demonstrates the potential of using social assessment as a tool for assessing the impacts of existing projects or policies.

4.2 Operational and long term effects of the prisons on their host communities and the implications of these findings

This section summarises the operational and long term effects of the prisons on their host communities and the implications of these effects, as identified in the prison research and reported in the Taylor Baines' case study and overview reports. These effects are discussed below under the following headings:

Prison employment

Goods and service providers

Spending by inmate families

Spending by inmate visitors

Unfair business competition

Prison contributions to the community

Host community involvement

Relationship with local Maori

Risks to personal safety – inmate escapes

Risks to personal safety – prison traffic

Prison-induced crime locally

Changes in the levels of community services and resources

Off-site environmental effects

Long term effects on local community and community development.

Note that although the focus of the prison research is on the effects experienced by the immediate host community as a result of the presence and operation of a prison, it became clear during the research that significant effects can also be experienced by individuals and communities ('the wider host community') outside the host community as defined in this research. The effects on this wider community are therefore also acknowledged in the following summary of host community effects in the four case studies (see Chapter 5 for discussion on the issue of 'host community' definition).

Prison employment

Case study findings

Staffing levels varied according to inmate muster levels, and ranged from 93 at Rolleston Prison to 290 at Hawkes Bay Prison (see Table 9).

Table 9: Prison staff employment

Prison facility	Total prison staff	Prison staff living in host community (approx)	Proportion of prison staff living in host community (approx)
Rolleston Prison	93	10	11%
Rimutaka Prison	285	Unknown	Unknown
Hawkes Bay Prison	290	9	3%
Wanganui Prison	223	7	3%

An examination of staff residences indicated that generally no more than 10% of prison staff live in the prison's host community. The remaining 90% resided in the wider community. This pattern of residence is largely due to the limited housing options in the host communities. It should be noted that prior to the closure of prison staff villages (located in host communities) this pattern would have been quite different. Indications are that in most instances, the majority of prison staff resided within the prison staff villages prior to the closure programme implemented in the mid-1990s.

Of the four prisons studied, Rolleston Prison has one of the highest levels of staff residing in the host community. Indications are that this is due partly to the significant residential and community development that has occurred in Rolleston in recent years, increasing local housing options and 'rural lifestyle' opportunities.

The case study findings therefore suggest that host communities with varied and numerous housing options will benefit the most from prison staff employment. Good infrastructure is also likely to help.

Carlson noted that some host communities might not receive the full benefit of prison employment due to staff being drawn from surrounding communities (1991, p. 223). The host communities in this research are clearly an example of this.

Goods and service providers

Case study findings

From a prison perspective, host community businesses provide only a small proportion of the total goods and services required by a prison. From a host community perspective however, this provision can involve around 50% of local businesses (see Table 10). This high percentage is partly due to efforts by prison purchasers to source local suppliers, however, they are often restricted by the limited range and number of local businesses versus the diverse needs of the

prison. It is worth noting that in several of the case studies, a higher number of businesses in the wider community were involved in provision.

Examples of provision from host communities include inmate supplies, petrol, postal services, veterinary services, and vehicle maintenance services in Rolleston (supplied to Rolleston Prison), and manure, food, water blasting services, transport services, and timber and tools in Mangaroa (supplied to Hawkes Bay Prison).

Table 10: Number of host community businesses providing goods and services to the prison

Prison facility	Host community businesses (approx)	Businesses providing goods and services (approx)	Proportion
Rolleston Prison	12	6	50%
Rimutaka Prison	12	6	50%
Hawkes Bay Prison	10	5	50%
Wanganui Prison	2	1	50%

These findings reinforce suggestions in the literature that host communities may experience benefits in the form of prison goods and services provision (Carlson 1991, p. 214; Schichor 1992, pp. 72-77; Brown, Copeland & Co Limited 1999; Brown, Copeland & Co Limited 2000a; Brown, Copeland & Co Limited 2000b; Department of Corrections September 2000e; Simich 1999).

Spending by inmate families

Case study findings

There is little, if any spending by inmate families in the prisons' host communities, as few families of inmates tend to relocate to the host communities. This is largely due to limited cheap accommodation options, limited work opportunities, limited means to meet moving costs, and uncertainty over inmate placement. There tended to be more inmate families in the wider community, but still a relatively low incidence of re-location.

The potential benefits from inmate family spending identified in the literature review are not therefore evident in the host communities in this research due to the nature of the communities.

Spending by prison visitors

Case study findings

Visitor expenditure was limited in the host communities by a lack of opportunities to spend locally. Nevertheless there were local businesses in each case study that reported some expenditure by visitors. In Kaitoke (Wanganui Prison) for example, the owner and a long term resident at the motel noted that they frequently accommodated families of inmates from outside of the region who had come to Wanganui to visit an inmate. Their motel was an attractive option for many of these families because it was close to the prison and very cheap. Recognising this potential business, the motel approached the prison and succeeded in getting posters advertising their motel put up on notice boards within the prison. As a result, significant business was generated as inmates suggested to their families that they could stay at the motel. Prison management also at times rings the motel when it has a family in need of temporary accommodation during a visit to Wanganui. Another example of prison visitor spending is in Rolleston (Rolleston Prison), where a local pub owner noted that visitors would stop at his pub on Saturdays prior to visiting times.

Unfair business competition

Case study findings

Although all of the prisons in the case studies operated commercial industries, there was limited opportunity for unfair business competition with the host communities due to the lack of competing businesses locally (see Table 11). Generally, there was greater potential for unfair competition in the wider community.

Community members' perceptions of unfair competition varied between the host communities (see Table 11). While very few neighbours of Rolleston Prison and Rimutaka Prison had

encountered resentment over the perception that inmates may be taking jobs away from community members, a number of Hawkes Bay Prison and Wanganui Prison neighbours had encountered such resentment (29% and 42% respectively).

There are several differences between the prison facilities/host communities which may explain this difference. Hawkes Bay Prison stands out as the only prison which has prison industries which could potentially compete with similar industries in its host community, and the greatest number of inmates involved in release to work activities, especially in nearby orchards. Hawkes Bay Prison has also experienced considerable property expansion for industrial use in close proximity to neighbours in recent years, alongside the introduction of a strong focus on profit and the commercialisation of its industries. For at least one of the industries the prison is potentially in competition with, unfair competition was not an issue as it had developed a mutual and positive working relationship.

Although Wanganui Prison does not have any competing industries in its host community, it does stand out as having the greatest number of on-site prison industries, especially if the very recently closed shoe factory is considered. The shoe factory and concrete factory in particular have received significant media, local council, and wider community attention since their inception. The size of the wider Wanganui community and its somewhat contiguous nature with the host community may explain the high response rate despite the fact there are no competing industries in the host community.

Table 11: Unfair competition with host community businesses

Prison facility	Prison industries	Commercial contracts	Competing business in the host community	Encountered resentment over the perception that inmates are taking jobs away from other people
Rolleston Prison	Nursery Vegetables Tailor shop	Yes Yes No	No No -	3%
Rimutaka Prison	Nursery Joinery Farm	Yes Yes No	No No -	0%
Hawkes Bay Prison	Timber/Joinery Vegetables Farm	Yes Yes No	Yes Yes -	29%
Wanganui Prison	Nursery Vegetables Concrete Timber/Joinery Engineering	Yes No Yes Yes No	No - No No -	42%

Implications for the planning, siting, and management of prisons

The experience of the host communities in these case studies reinforces the need for the Department of Corrections to continue to ensure that prison industries do not compete with host community businesses, by considering the possibility of unfair competition when planning new prisons and developing existing prisons.

Prison contributions to the community

Case study findings

All of the prisons contributed to the host communities and the wider communities by way of free or cheap goods and services, often with the use of inmate labour. Although the wider community often benefited to a greater extent because of the opportunities a larger centre provided for contribution, for host community members who lived in close proximity to the prison, the often mutual exchange of goods and services was seen as an important part of being a good neighbour.

Table 12: Goods and service contributions from the prisons to the host communities

Prison	Goods and services contributed
Rolleston Prison	Maintenance work at local school Tailoring for local school and fire brigade Nursery plants at cost to local schools for fund-raising Manure collection from local farms
Rimutaka Prison	Nursery plants at cost to local school for fund-raising Work at local marae
Hawkes Bay Prison	Assistance to neighbouring properties Manure collection from local farms Work at local marae Wood to local schools and clubs for fund-raising Machinery exchange
Wanganui Prison	Bark chips to local schools Assistance to neighbouring properties Vehicle maintenance

Prison policy has had a significant impact on the level of contributions in recent years as there has been a move away from community service work to a focus on profit driven industries. All communities expressed an appreciation of the contributions made and some members noted disappointment in the drop in level of contributions.

Implications for the planning, siting, and management of prisons

The responses from neighbours in regards to prison contributions to the community, suggest that it is a positive effect resulting from the presence and operation of a prison, and an important part of being a good neighbour. It should therefore be considered in the planning and management of existing and future prisons.

Host community involvement

Case study findings

There is minimal involvement by host community members with the prisons, partly due to the small size of the host communities. This is compared with the wider community from which

most of the community members involved with providing inmate support come. Most of these belong to inmate support organisations such as PILLARS, PARS, and Prisoner Fellowship.

Relationship with local Maori

Case study findings

Three of the four prisons had strong relationships and levels of commitment with local Maori, based on the presence of Maori Focus Units. The fourth, Rolleston Prison, did not have a strong or well established relationship, due to the absence of any strongly Maori-focused programmes and the distance between the prison and its nearest marae.

Generally, where Maori Focus Units have been established, very high levels of commitment evolve for all parties involved. This reflects an ethic and set of attitudes associated with the concept of restorative justice for inmates, in contrast to the ‘out of sight, out of mind’ attitudes to inmates prevalent in much of the Pakeha community. However, such high levels of commitment have their cost in terms of human effort and need for resources.

This strong relationship and level of commitment with local Maori was illustrated by a member of the Orongomai Marae in Upper Hutt (Rimutaka Prison Case Study) who stated “we consider ourselves guardians to the men within the unit and want to be involved at all levels”. Some of the links between the marae and the prison/Maori Focus Unit include visits made by marae members to inmates (both family and non-family), involvement with a Kapahaka group and carving classes, and the sharing of knowledge and experience in Maori culture in return for work done on the marae.

Implications for the planning, siting, and management of prisons

The existence of this strong and valuable relationship between the prisons and local Maori in these case studies has several implications for the siting and management of prisons. Consideration should be given to where support for Maori inmates is to come from. This is especially so if a prison has a Maori Focus Unit. This is not necessarily an argument in favour of

locating near a marae, but should be a key focus for consultation. The case studies revealed that much of the success of the Maori Focus Units was based on the strong commitment by local Maori and marae to support the units and care for the inmates. This commitment leads to another important consideration - it is time consuming and resource draining, and places significant demand on kuia and kaumatua. These demands are accentuated by the need to support Maori inmates who come from all over the country. To ensure that this essential relationship is a positive relationship that continues to develop, consideration should be given to the allocation of resources in support of the relationship.

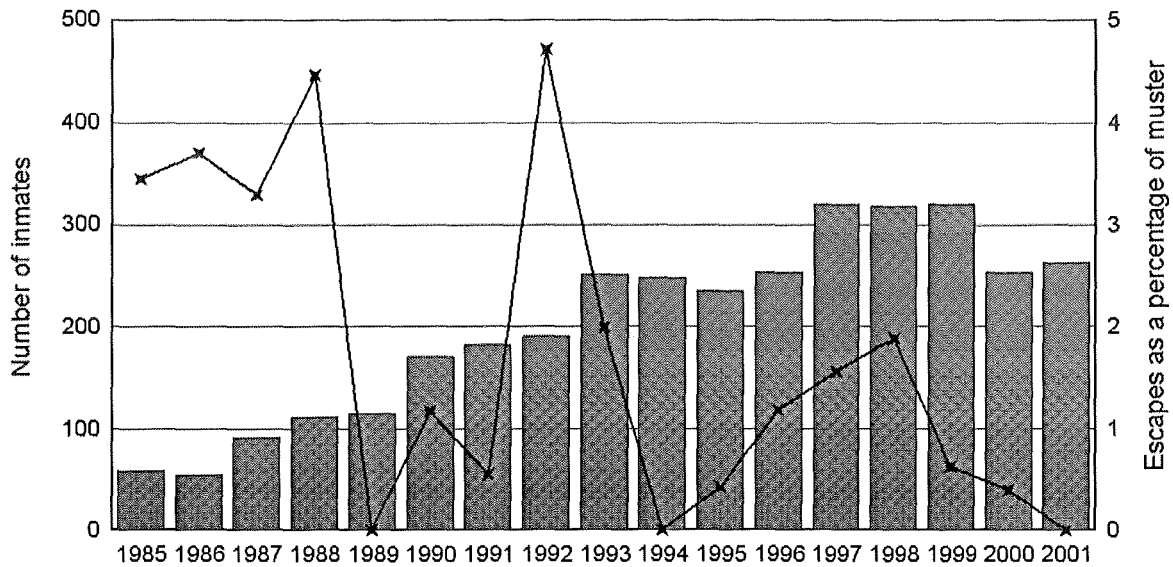
Risks to personal safety – inmate escapes

Case study findings

Inmate escapes from Rolleston Prison

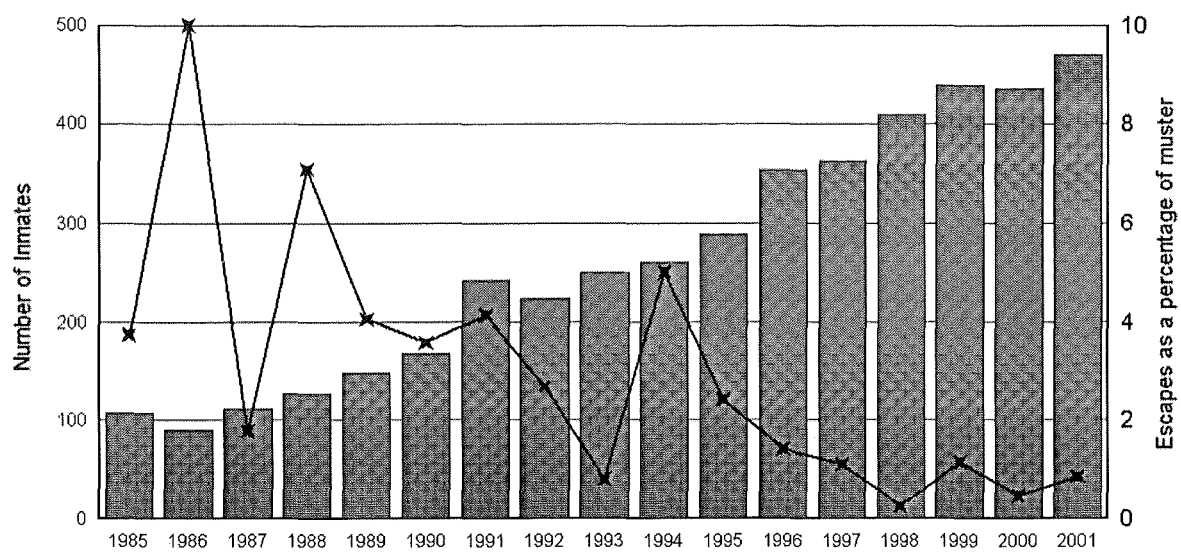
Department of Correction's records show that there have been 47 escapes from Rolleston Prison since 1985¹. Taken as a percentage of muster, the number of inmates escaping has actually reduced over the years (see Figure 11).

¹ Note that 14 of these escapes were not from the prison. Eleven were from temporary release, while three were from escorts. There were also eleven walkaways. Some of these walkaways may have been from community service gangs working off site.

Figure 11: Inmate escapes from Rolleston Prison as a percentage of muster, 1985-2001

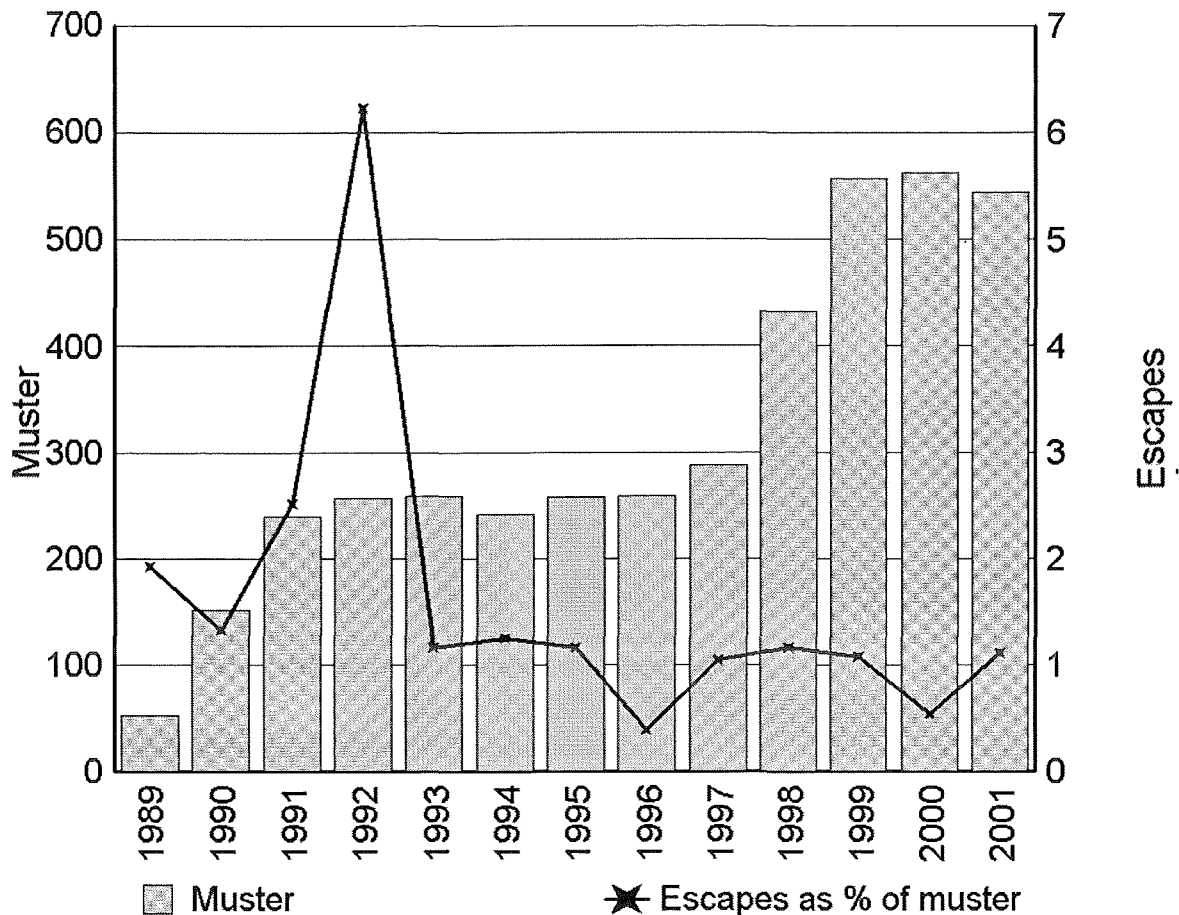
Inmate escapes from Rimutaka Prison

Department of Corrections' records show that over the last 17 years, a total of 95 inmates have escaped from Rimutaka Prison. This is an average of just fewer than six escapes per year, with a maximum of 13 (1994) and a minimum of one (1998). The number of escapes each year over this period appears to have reduced slightly. A closer examination of the different types of escapes reveals a slight reduction in the number of breakouts and non-returns from temporary release each year. The overall reduction in the number of escapes over this period has greater significance if viewed in relation to the increase in muster over this same period (see Figure 12).

Figure 12: Inmate escapes from Rimutaka Prison as a percentage of muster, 1985-2001

Inmate escapes from Hawkes Bay Prison

Department of Corrections' records show that there have been a total of 58 escapes over the last 13 years. Viewed as a percentage of muster, there has been a reduction in the number of escapes over this time (see Figure 13). Residents, prison management and police all noted that there were fewer breakouts now, and that the majority of escapes nowadays were from walkaways whereby an inmate escaped from a work party.

Figure 13: Inmate escapes from Hawkes Bay Prison as a percentage of muster, 1989-2001

Inmate escapes from Wanganui Prison

Escape data for Wanganui Prison was not readily available, as up until 2000, all data included escapes from both Wanganui Prison in Kaitoke and a small and very old prison in Wanganui city. This data indicated that since 1985 there had been 81 escapes. Prison staff reported that while many of the breakouts in the late 1980s-early 1990s can be attributed to the Kaitoke site, most of the escapes in recent years were from the city site, which closed in 2000. Both prison management and police confirmed that there had been no breakouts from Wanganui Prison since 1995.

Fear of inmate escapes

Although fear by host community members of inmate escapes was the most reported effect in the case studies, the number of community members reporting this fear varied between the case studies. The following percentage of neighbours reported a fear of inmate escapes:

Table 13: Fear of inmate escapes

Prison facility	Security level	Special units	Prison capacity	% of neighbours interviewed who worry about escapes	No. of encounters by neighbours interviewed with escaped inmates	No. of neighbours interviewed who have had property stolen
Rolleston Prison	Minimum Low medium	Sex offenders Alcohol & Drug	260-320	20%	6	0
Rimutaka Prison	Minimum Low medium High medium	Violent offenders Maori Focus Self care	486	40%	0	1
Hawkes Bay Prison	Minimum Low medium High medium	Youth Maori Self care	568	45%	6	1
Wanganui Prison	Minimum Low medium High medium	Maori Self care Sex offenders Police protection At risk	370	64%	7	3

Two host communities reported significantly different levels of fear than the other two host communities. Only 20% of Rolleston Prison neighbours reported experiencing fear of inmate escapes as compared to 40% and 45% of Rimutaka Prison and Hawkes Bay Prison respectively. Comments from neighbours who did not report experiencing fear indicate that the perceived minimum security status of inmates at Rolleston Prison is an important factor determining level of fear for personal safety in Rolleston. It is also noteworthy that Rolleston Prison has the smallest capacity compared with the other three prisons, and that there were no reports of serious incidents as a result of inmate escapes. Wanganui Prison had the highest rate with 64% of neighbours reporting experiencing fear. Explanations from neighbours indicate that the high percentage of neighbours experiencing fear is due to a spate of escapes in the late 1980s and early 1990s, two of which resulted in personal violations of a violent nature.

It should be emphasised however, that in all of the case studies, many of those who reported experiencing concern over the possibility of inmate escapes noted that this was not a constant fear, or a fear that affected their everyday life. For many this fear was most evident when they had knowledge of an escape.

It became evident that the level of fear experienced by neighbours depended on several factors, including perceptions of inmate security levels, escape routes, visibility of buildings and inmates, and past experience of escapes.

Neighbours reported a wide range of impacts, including temporary heightened anxiety when notified of an escape, modifications to regular behaviour (such as household arrangements, school transport arrangements and recreational activities), loss of property through theft, and long lasting trauma from personal violation.

Implications for the planning, siting, and management of prisons

There are various implications of this effect for the planning, siting, and management of prisons. The most obvious is the need for the secure containment of inmates (with effective fencing etc). There are however, other measures that can be taken. One factor contributing to the fear of escapes is prison 'visibility' (signage, buildings, inmates), as it reminds neighbours of the prisons' presence. Consideration should therefore be given to ways in which these reminders can be lessened. For example, proximity to neighbours, the topography of the prison site, planting and screening, and unobtrusive signage. Future expansion should also be considered during the siting process, to reduce the chance of proximity-related effects such as the fear of inmate escapes. The use of community phone warning systems is also a measure valued by the neighbours in these case studies. The systems however, are not as effective as they could be. Neighbours expressed the need for these systems to be updated to ensure that new neighbours are given the opportunity to be included, and that it is necessary to inform neighbours not just of the escape, but of the re-capture also.

Risks to personal safety – prison traffic

Case study findings

In some case studies, concerns about prison-related traffic on access roads were expressed, including concerns about traffic volumes at particular times (for example, staff shift changes), and driver behaviour (for example, excessive speed). No accidents were reported in any of the case studies.

Prison-induced crime locally

Case study findings

There was no evidence in any of the case studies that the prisons were significant contributors to crime in the host communities or wider communities. This was partly because inmate families are not relocating to the host communities and relatively few into the wider communities (Waldegrave 1999), and partly because of anecdotal evidence from local police indicating that it is not likely. There has been no systematic collection of data on crime committed by visitors and inmate families by local police.

In the Rolleston Prison and Rimutaka Prison case studies, an effort was made to compare crime rates in the host communities with crime rates in communities which did not host prisons. Data indicates that crime rates were not higher in the host communities.

Changes in the levels of community services and resources

Case study findings

There was no evidence of any significant strain on, or improvement to community resources and services in the host communities in these case studies. This is largely due to the fact that the host communities have very few community resources and services, and that prison staff and inmate families do not tend to live in the host communities.

The biggest demands were for services and resources in the wider community including policing, health services, and Maori programme providers. There was also some demand for social services such as Housing New Zealand, and Work and Income New Zealand services.

Off-site environmental effects

Case study findings

Prison security lighting

The following number of neighbours noticed prison security lighting from their properties and reported resulting impacts:

Table 14: Prison security lighting impacts

Prison facility	Noticed lighting	Reported impacts
Rolleston Prison	39 of 97 (40%)	7 of 39
Rimutaka Prison	9 of 55 (16%)	1 of 9
Hawkes Bay Prison	40 of 59 (68%)	4 of 40
Wanganui Prison	13 of 45 (29%)	2 of 13

In all of the case studies, neighbours were more likely to report a “glow” from prison security lighting rather than “bright” prison security lighting.

The number of neighbours who noticed prison security lighting and reported resulting impacts depended on proximity and topography. The closer the neighbours were to a prison and the flatter the local terrain, the more likely that they will notice prison security lighting (for example, Hawkes Bay Prison).

Irrespective of the number of neighbours who noticed prison security lighting, very few neighbours in any of the host communities felt that they were impacted as a result. For the few that were impacted there were some similar responses such as the fact prison security lighting acted as a “reminder” of the prison’s presence. However, it also appears that there could be

some differences. In the Rolleston Prison case study and the Wanganui Prison case study, impacts relating to interference with the rural character of the neighbourhood were mentioned. In other words, impacts are likely to be related to the interference with or conflict with individual values and community characteristics which are important to prison neighbours. Also in the Rolleston Prison case study there were some positive responses from several immediate neighbours who reported benefiting from improved lighting of their properties at night.

Prison noise

Some of the noises heard by neighbours from the prisons in these case studies include, voices, singing, music, sirens, and construction noise. The following number of neighbours had heard prison noise from their properties and reported resulting impacts:

Table 15: Noise from the prisons and reported impacts

Prison facility	Heard noise	Reported impacts
Rolleston Prison	28 of 97 (29%)	8 of 28
Rimutaka Prison	5 of 55 (9%)	2 of 5
Hawkes Bay Prison	35 of 59 (59%)	4 of 35
Wanganui Prison	7 of 45 (16%)	2 of 7

The number of neighbours who heard *noise* from the prisons was dependent on proximity and topography. The closer the neighbours were to a prison and the flatter the local terrain, the more likely that they will hear noise from the prison (for example, Hawkes Bay Prison).

Irrespective of the number of neighbours who could hear noise, very few neighbours in any of the host communities felt that they were impacted as a result. For the few that were impacted there were some similar responses such as the noise acted as a “reminder” of the prison’s presence. Generally, impacts also related to the interference with or conflict with individual values and community characteristics which are important to prison neighbours (such as a rural environment).

Dust from horticulture

Dust was noticed by a group of neighbours in the Hawkes Bay Prison case study. It was determined that this dust was from horticulture activities in prison gardens located in close proximity to the neighbours. Some of these neighbours argued that it was due to inappropriate gardening practices. For all five of these neighbours this experience had a significant impact on them, including property soiling and reduced visibility.

Other off-site environmental effects

There was no evidence of any other persistent environmental effects. Although several councils noted minor one off problems with sewage or stormwater system maintenance or upgrade in the past, only one neighbour reported a past problem with stormwater overflow.

Litter dropped by prison visitors on roads surrounding the prison, was cited as a problem by neighbours in at least three of the case studies – Rolleston Prison², Hawkes Bay Prison, and Wanganui Prison.

Implications for the planning, siting, and management of prisons

Although for the most part few impacts were reported as a result of the experience of offsite environmental effects, there are some relatively simple measures and considerations that could be taken when planning, siting or managing prisons. The proximity of a prison to its neighbours is clearly a key consideration. Future expansion should also be considered during the siting process, to reduce the chance of proximity-related effects such as off-site environmental effects. Maintaining good relationships with neighbours may also help increase awareness of any off-site environmental effects (such as dust) causing problems, and lead to prompt and more effective ways to address them. The occurrence of litter on road sides may decrease if prisons were to provide visitor facilities such as parking, picnic areas and indoor waiting areas.

² Note, some residents in Rolleston also noted that a few prison visitors had approached them for directions to the prison. This had caused concern for some.

Long term effects on local community and community development

Case study findings

In all of the case studies there was greater consensus amongst neighbours as to any potential negative impact (i.e. the majority agreed that there was no negative impact), than to any perceived positive impact (i.e. more division as to whether or not there had been any positive impact) (see Table 16).

Table 16: Neighbours' perceptions of negative and positive impacts on business/community/rural development options in their localities

Prison facility	Perceived negative impact	Perceived positive impact
Rolleston Prison	19%	25%
Rimutaka Prison	12%	19%
Hawkes Bay Prison	21%	42%
Wanganui Prison	12%	36%

Although there was little evidence of any significant host community development in the Rimutaka Prison, Hawkes Bay Prison, and Wanganui Prison case studies, this was often explained by zoning restrictions in rural areas, or the little room for development as was the case in the Rimutaka Prison case study. In the Rolleston Prison case study, there was no evidence that the prison had an adverse impact on community, in light of the significant residential and community development in recent years.

There were also no indications from the real estate agents interviewed that there was any discernable adverse impact on property sales or values in the host communities. This reinforces suggestions in the literature that there is little or no impact on property values (Carlson 1991, p. 215; Daly 1999).

4.3 Summary of effects

A review of the above effects highlights the potential for host communities to experience more negative effects, and the wider community to experience more of the positive effects (see Table 17).

Table 17: Summary of effects

	Host community	Wider community
Potential negative effects	Nuisances (Lighting, Noise, Dust) Escapes Traffic	Inmate Family Issues Business Competition
Potential positive effects	Prison Goods & Services	Employment Providers to Prisons Prison Goods & Services Community Involvement

The main focus of improved management and mitigation efforts should therefore be in relation to the localised effects and impacts of a prison's presence and operation. In particular it is important to keep in touch with the host community, to provide information on new activities and developments, and to share good news. This information sharing contributes towards reducing perceptions of risk to personal safety. Locals should also be encouraged to take some responsibility for communications, the most effective way often being an active liaison mechanism such as residents' associations.

The attitude and approach of senior management is critical to the relationship between a prison and its host community. Although this takes time out of an already tight time budget and it is difficult to keep external relations as a priority, the attitude and approach of senior management is a critical factor determining the form of any relationship. Aside from senior management, other prison staff also contribute to good relations, especially with close neighbours. It should be noted that a change of manager can disrupt previous relations with the host community, and that it is therefore important to have a handover that minimises any disruption.

4.4 Benefits of the prison research to date

Taylor Baines' prison research has already benefited existing host communities, potential future host communities, prison management, and a number of others involved in the prison sector. In each of the case studies, the research team made specific suggestions for mitigation to prison management. During the close of the case study research, it was evident that some of these recommendations had already been taken up. For example, in Mangaroa, Hawkes Bay Prison management had already sent out letters to local residents in an effort to update and improve the community warning system. Since the completion of the prison research, the research findings have also been used by those involved in the siting of new prisons, including potential host communities, the Department of Corrections, and consultants involved in the siting. A number of others involved in the prison sector have requested copies of the research findings, including territorial local authorities and Pars. The research has therefore not only increased knowledge and awareness about effects, but to date it has also had a practical impact on the operation of existing prisons, the experience of existing host communities, the planning of new prisons, and the experience of potential future host communities.

4.5 Summary

This chapter summarised the operational and long term effects of the prisons on their host communities and the implications of these effects, and followed up on the benefits of the prison research to date. The purpose was to provide an insight into social assessment in practice, and to demonstrate the potential and value of using social assessment as a tool for assessing the social impacts of existing projects or policies.

The case study findings revealed a variety of operational and long term effects on the host communities and wider communities. A distinct pattern or distribution of effects was evident across the host and wider communities. For the most part, the majority of negative effects were experienced in the host communities, and the positive effects in the wider communities. By far, the most prominent effect experienced was the fear of inmate escapes. One of the more

surprising aspects of the findings was the extent to which the prisons had relationships with the host and wider communities. These were well-established and reciprocal relationships. The relationship with local Maori was particularly important. Overall, there were a striking number of similarities between the case studies. The few differences that were evident were attributable to differences in prison or host community characteristics.

A significant number of research implications were identified, including implications for the siting, planning and management of prisons. These reinforced considerations already taken into account by the Department of Corrections, and highlighted other suggestions for improvements. The fact that these implications were evident and could provide practical suggestions highlights the value and importance of social assessment. This has been further reinforced by the identified benefits of the research to date.

Chapter 5

Re-visiting the concept of ‘host community’

5.1 Introduction

One of the key practice-related issues to emerge from the prison research was that of how to define the concept of ‘host community’. Taylor Baines needed to define the concept of ‘host community’ in order to answer its research question – *what are the social impacts of selected New Zealand prisons on their host communities?* The concept was first adopted by Taylor Baines for its research into the social impacts of solid waste and wastewater facilities. This concept was carried over into the prison research, and adjusted to reflect the unique circumstances associated with New Zealand prison facilities and their local communities. As noted in Chapter 1, Taylor Baines defined ‘host community’ as:

the community resident in the geographic area most clearly associated with the prison facility. This geographic area may be defined by the prison facility’s visibility, surrounding roads and access roads, and major topographical features. This community may be extended to include those who in a social sense feel affected in some way by the prison facility’s presence. This connection may be acknowledged through associations such as community warning systems, or evident in the prison facility’s name, prison staff residences, or the location of the prison facility’s goods and service providers.

The case study stage of the prison research revealed that the application of this definition in practice was not always straightforward. Rather, observations in the field raised questions about how to define the host community in practical terms. Two contrasting applications emerged, with varying implications for the case study methods, findings, and research utilisation. The issues surrounding these contrasting applications, and the potential implications for social assessment practice are explored below in reference to two of the four case studies – the Rolleston Prison Case Study and the Wanganui Prison Case Study.

5.2 Exploring the concept of ‘host community’

How to define the host community?

The following discussion uses two of the four prison case studies to outline how issues surrounding the concept of ‘host community’ emerged, and to present the two contrasting applications of the definition of host community considered by the research team.

As noted in earlier chapters, the focus for Taylor Baines’ first case study was Rolleston Prison. Observations in the field clearly indicated to the research team that Rolleston Prison’s host community included surrounding rural-residential properties, the nearby Rolleston township, and the nearby Burnham Military Camp and associated housing (see Chapter 2 for further description and maps). These were considered to be part of the ‘host community’ for several reasons. The surrounding rural-residential properties were included because they were in such close proximity to the prison that they were clearly ‘neighbours’ of the prison. They were also included because they had been part of a community warning system, and because of all the residents interviewed, they experienced the greatest number of effects from the prison’s presence and operation. The nearby Rolleston township was included because it was in close proximity to the prison, it shared the prison’s name, several businesses provided goods and services to the prison, a few prison staff lived there, and residents interviewed reported some effects as a result of the prison’s presence and operation. The nearby Burnham Military Camp was included because it was in close proximity to the prison, it provided some goods and services to the prison, and they had in the past used each other’s facilities.

In contrast to the Rolleston Prison Case Study, observations in the field for the Wanganui Prison Case Study raised questions and issues relating to how to define the prison’s host community in practical terms. As with Rolleston, there were surrounding rural-residential neighbours¹ that were clearly part of the prison’s ‘host community’, due to their close proximity to the prison,

¹ These ‘rural-residential neighbours’ included scattered residential properties surrounding the prison, and the small nearby settlements of Kaitoke, Marybank and Whangaeahu.

their presence on a community warning system, and their experience of effects² (see Chapter 2 for further description and maps). However, a number of other observations made by the research team relating to the locality and the prison's operations, questioned this definition. Only two kilometres (approximately) away from these residences, is Wanganui city. The proximity is such that you can clearly see the outskirts of Wanganui city and its central business district from the main road on the edge of the area containing the rural-residential properties described above. Aside from the close proximity of Wanganui city, there were a number of other factors that alerted the researchers to the possibility that the host community may be wider than just the surrounding rural-residential properties. These included:

- the close links between Wanganui and the Kaitoke area/community (including the high number of residents in Kaitoke who are likely to work in Wanganui, and the use of the Kaitoke Lakes and reserve by Wanganui residents),
- the large number of Wanganui Prison staff who live in Wanganui city,
- the prison volunteers who live in Wanganui,
- the prison goods and service providers based in Wanganui,
- the community work carried out by Wanganui Prison inmates in Wanganui
- concerns relating to the relocation of inmate families to Wanganui,
- the significant interest expressed by the territorial authority in the prison's presence and operation (also the responsibilities of the council in relation to the prison, and the time invested by the council in research, monitoring, and relationship building with prison management), and
- the official name of the prison being Wanganui Prison.

So, which option best reflects the 'host community' of Wanganui Prison? – the rural-residential properties surrounding the prison (referred to in this research as 'Kaitoke') or 'Kaitoke' and nearby Wanganui city. There is little doubt that the neighbours in the 'Kaitoke' area are part of the 'host community'. Not only do they live in close proximity to the prison and experience

² The prison is also located out of sight off the main road in the heart of Kaitoke, and has at times been referred to as Kaitoke Prison.

significant impacts, their inclusion is consistent with the application of the definition in Rolleston. The question is, is there something about the observations made above, which justify Wanganui city's inclusion as part of the host community?

In considering this question, it should be noted that many of these observations could also be made about Christchurch in the Rolleston Prison Case Study. For example, most of Rolleston Prison's staff, goods and service providers, and volunteers are based in Christchurch. However, despite these links with the prison, Christchurch was not included as part of the host community. The main reason for not including Christchurch, was the belief that Christchurch as a community is unlikely to perceive Rolleston Prison as part of its community. In other words, the Christchurch community is unlikely to consider that it is 'hosting' Rolleston Prison. This belief was based on several observations, including the distance between Christchurch and Rolleston Prison (approximately 15 kilometres), and the likelihood that there would be few, if any, negative impacts on the Christchurch community as a result of the prison's presence and operation. Most importantly, it was thought that the size of Christchurch (approximate population of 400,000) was such that these links (for example, employment, goods and services provision) would have relatively minimal impact on the Christchurch community as a whole.

Observations in the Wanganui fieldwork suggest that these reasons to exclude Christchurch as part of Rolleston Prison's host community may not be present in the Wanganui case. Not only is Wanganui city much closer to Wanganui Prison than Christchurch is to Rolleston Prison, Wanganui city is a lot smaller than Christchurch (approximate population of 44,000). It is fair to assume that the links Wanganui city has with Wanganui Prison are therefore far more likely to have an impact on Wanganui city. Also, it is probably more likely that Wanganui city considers the prison to be part of its community. This certainly seemed to be the suggestion from the Wanganui District Council.

There are likely to be several benefits associated with the adoption of a broad definition of host community, such as the 'Kaitoke' and Wanganui city 'host community' in the Wanganui Prison Case Study. By identifying the host community as 'Kaitoke' and Wanganui city, there would be an opportunity to recognise the negative and positive effects of the prison's presence and

operation, and therefore the opportunity to focus on minimising negative effects and enhancing positive effects. This approach would also challenge traditional perceptions of the effects generated by prisons, by noting and exploring the extensive and essentially positive relationship with the wider community (some of the other implications are discussed below).

On the other hand, there are several issues to consider if such a broad definition is adopted. With any project/facility, it is arguable that the resulting social effects are infinite (including in a geographic sense). So, it has to be asked – where do you draw the line? The answer to this question may lie in the idea explored above – that certain factors or a combination of factors may lead to ‘sense of ownership’ of a facility by a community, or the perception that the community is ‘hosting’ a facility. Exploring this notion may be a crucial part of determining a host community, and require researchers to draw upon sociological theory and concepts of ‘community’. Another key criteria may be the distribution of effects, especially negative effects. In this sense it may be helpful to revert to the concept of ‘affected persons’ or ‘affected populations’ referred to in most social assessment texts rather than relying solely on the concept of ‘host community’ (Burdge 2004, p. 106; Taylor, Bryan & Goodrich 2004, p. 1).

The concept of host community adopted by the research team for the prison research

The distribution of effects in the Wanganui Prison Case Study was a key factor influencing the research team’s decision not to adopt such a broad definition of host community. Rather, the team adopted the more restrictive definition, and defined Wanganui Prison’s host community as ‘Kaitoke’ (see Chapter 2). It was reasoned that by identifying Kaitoke as the host community, the research and research reports could signal to users of the research (for example, the Department of Corrections) that this area is of particular importance when considering the management and siting of prisons, and ultimately appropriate mitigation strategies. Although, social assessment aims to both minimise negative effects and enhance positive effects, it is arguable that the minimisation and alleviation of negative effects has to take priority.

5.3 Implications for methods, research findings, and utilisation of research

Different definitions of ‘host community’ are likely to have different implications for research methods, research findings, and the utilisation of research by end users.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the selection of research methods is partly dependent on who is being targeted and what information is needed from them. If the concept of ‘host community’ is broadly defined, then there are likely to be additional groups of people or interests that need to be considered and targeted. Different research methods may therefore be needed. For example, in the Wanganui Prison Case Study it was evident that there were a number of effects such as prison employment, prison goods and service provision and the relocation of inmate families, that were experienced to a much greater extent in Wanganui city compared with ‘Kaitoke’. In order to assess these effects, additional efforts were needed. Although, Taylor Baines chose not to include Wanganui city in its definition of Wanganui Prison’s host community, it did recognise the effects on the ‘wider community’ and assessed these accordingly. It is therefore likely that the research methods in the prison research would not have altered dramatically if a broader definition of host community had been adopted.

The definition of ‘host community’ will also affect the research findings. In fact, some findings could be dramatically different. For example, in the Wanganui Prison research, the findings indicated that the host community did not benefit from prison employment. However, if the broader definition had been adopted, then the findings would have stated that the host community did receive a significant benefit from prison employment (most prison employees live in Wanganui city). There are clearly important implications of such differences for the utilisation of research findings by end users (see below). If a broad definition is adopted, it is therefore important that those affected by different impacts are clearly identified. Taylor Baines circumvented these issues by noting that although the ‘host community’ did not benefit from prison employment, the ‘wider community’ did experience significant benefit from prison employment (in the Wanganui Prison Case Study for example).

The definition of 'host community' could potentially have significant implications for the interpretation and utilisation of research. If a concept of host community is too restrictive, then there is the potential for research to miss out or understate the full range of impacts experienced. On the other hand, if a concept of host community is too broad, the research may fail to adequately stress the most significant impacts. Either way, there are implications for the selection of mitigation strategies, and the overall perception of the effects of a prison's presence and operation.

5.4 Summary

How to define the concept of host community was one of the key practice-related issues to emerge from this prison research. In three of the four case studies, observations in the field raised questions about the host communities' 'boundaries'. While areas immediately surrounding the prisons were clearly part of the prisons' host communities, the extensive links the prisons had with areas slightly further afield suggested that these areas could also be included as part of the host communities. This chapter discussed the various issues and implications associated with either definition, and highlighted the need for a case-by-case approach to defining host community, as opposed to the applications of a generic definition.

Conclusion

This thesis asked the following questions in relation to research carried out by Taylor Baines & Associates on the social impacts of selected New Zealand prisons on their host communities:

- 1) How is an assessment of the social impacts of an existing project or policy conducted in practice?
- 2) What practice related issues arose during the prison research?
- 3) What are the issues and benefits associated with the use of social assessment as a tool for assessing the social impacts of *existing* projects or policies rather than as a tool for assessing the potential impacts of *proposed* projects or policies?

In addressing these questions, this thesis aimed to:

- 1) provide an example of social assessment in practice for others to learn from;
- 2) contribute to the ongoing discussion, debate and evolution of social assessment theory and practice; and to
- 3) further the development and use of social assessment as a tool for assessing the social impacts of existing projects and policies.

In order to answer these research questions, this thesis:

- provided background information about Taylor Baines' prison research programme;
- provided profiles of the case study prisons and host communities;
- described social assessment approach, process, and method
- outlined an alternative approach, process, and method, which would be more appropriate for a social assessment of the impacts of an existing project or policy

- described and discussed the approach, process, and method used by Taylor Baines in their prison case studies, including any practice-related issues that arose;
- provided a summary of the operational and long term effects of the prisons and their host communities as reported in Taylor Baines' case study findings;
- noted how the Taylor Baines' prison research has been used and benefited from to date; and
- discussed in detail one of the key practice-related issues to emerge out of the prison research - that is, how to define the concept of 'host community'.

The nature of this thesis is such that it will primarily be of interest to students, academics and practitioners. This is in contrast to the Taylor Baines' prison research, which is of particular interest to those concerned with prison planning, siting and management, including host communities, the Department of Corrections, and regional and local authorities.

How is an assessment of the social impacts of an existing project or policy conducted in practice?

This thesis provided an example of social assessment in practice by describing and discussing research carried out by Taylor Baines & Associates on the social impacts of selected New Zealand prisons on their host communities. As a key researcher in the Taylor Baines' prison research, the author was able to provide additional information and insights into the prison research process, insights that are not generally discussed in the research reports.

What practice related issues arose during the prison research?

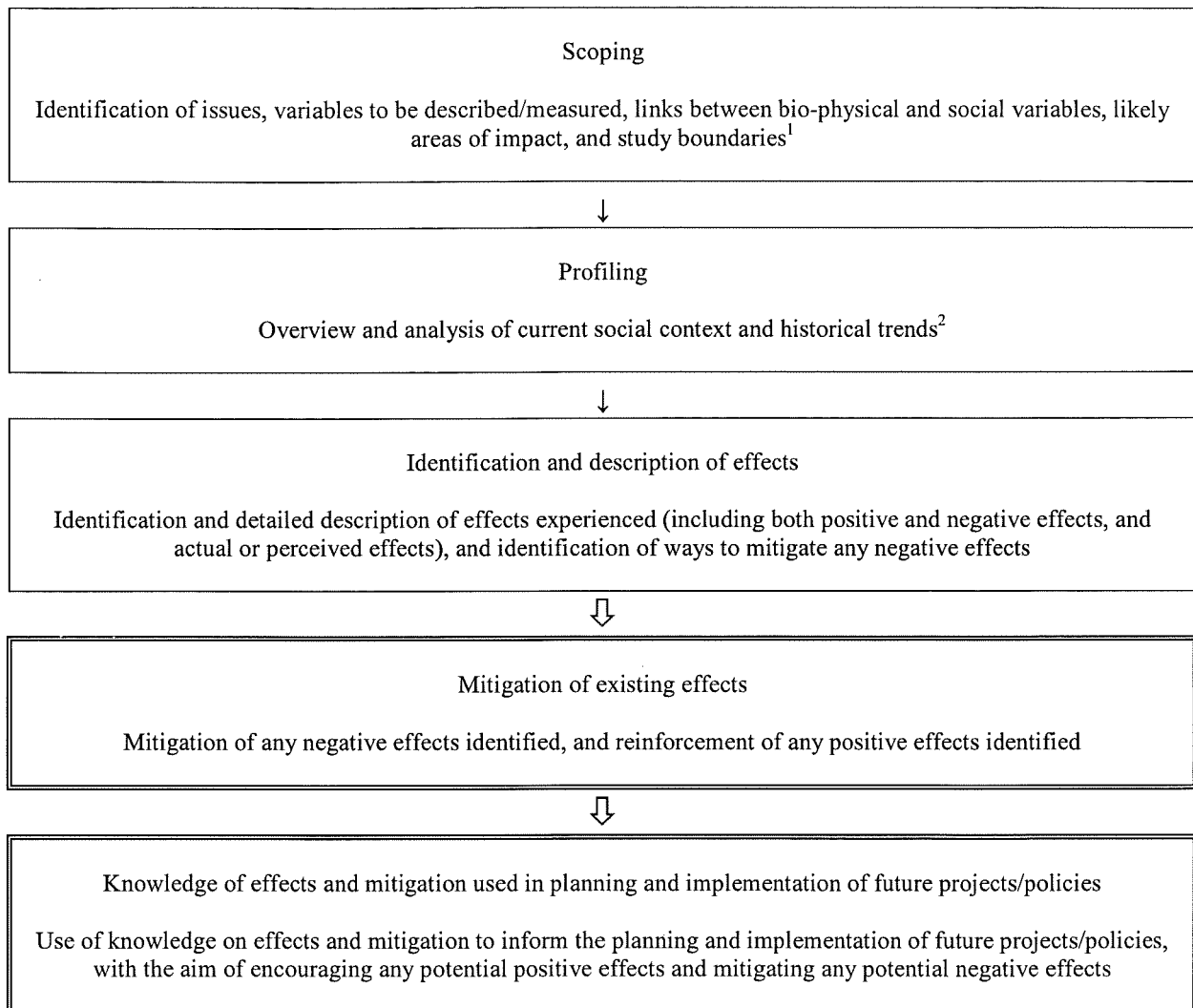
A number of interesting research issues arose during the process of conducting Taylor Baines' prison case studies. Some of the key issues and practices of interest arose during the planning and preparation, and fieldwork stages of the research process. These issues highlighted the importance of utilising a teamwork approach, of conducting fieldwork in a systematic and pre-determined order, of exploring the community and meeting the people affected, of ensuring that interviewers have appropriate interviewing skills and experience when dealing with complex and

sensitive issues, and of conducting feedback to check the accuracy and validity of the research findings.

How to define and apply the concept of host community was a key issue in the prison research. The prison research identified a wide range of effects, and a distinct distribution of effects in the community. Not only was there a range of effects in the area immediately surrounding the prisons, often there was also a significant number of effects in the wider community. This raised the question of whether or not the wider community should be included as part of the host community. In determining whether or not it should be included as part of the host community, factors such as proximity to the prison, the size of the wider community, and the range and intensity of effects experienced should be considered. Arguably, one of the most important considerations is whether or not these factors create the perception amongst community members that their community is ‘hosting’ the prison. In this sense, social assessment may benefit from utilising sociological theory on ‘community’. It may also be worth considering how the definition would affect the nature of the findings, and the use of the findings by end users. Ultimately, this prison research highlighted that a case-by-case approach to identifying and defining host community is needed. As such, this thesis does not present a right or wrong way to define host community, but explores issues and raises questions to be considered in further debate or research.

What are the issues and benefits associated with the use of social assessment as a tool for assessing the social impacts of existing projects or policies rather than as a tool for assessing the potential impacts of proposed projects or policies?

The prison research highlighted several issues associated with the use of social assessment as a tool for assessing the social impacts of existing projects or policies. The main issue relates to the approach, process and method required to assess existing impacts. It was evident from the prison research that some adjustment was needed to the social assessment process used to assess the potential future impacts. Based on the approach and process used in the prison research, the following diagram proposes a social assessment process that can be used to assess existing impacts:



As noted in Chapter 3, this approach differs from traditional approaches to social assessment in that it focuses on the identification and description of effects, rather than the projection and estimation of effects. It also skips three other stages of a traditional social assessment – the formulation of alternatives, monitoring, mitigation and management, and evaluation. These stages are replaced with efforts to mitigate existing adverse effects and enhance existing positive effects, and efforts to ensure that the knowledge gained from the social assessment is

¹ Taylor, Bryan and Goodrich (1995, p. 77).

² Taylor, Bryan and Goodrich (1995, p. 77).

disseminated and integrated into future project and policy planning and implementation. Taylor Baines' prison research is an example of these last two stages.

Although social assessment was developed as a tool to manage change, Taylor Baines' prison research demonstrates that with some adjustment, social assessment can also be used to manage the effects of existing projects or policies. In doing so, the use of social assessment in this way also becomes an invaluable social research tool to build knowledge. Building such knowledge supports a pro-active ex-ante approach to social assessment, policy development, and planning.

However, in order to embrace the use of social assessment in this way, several obstacles need to be overcome. One such obstacle is the lack of incentive to do so. If project owners/managers do not have to conduct such an assessment, why risk upsetting a relationship (i.e. with the host community) that appears to work, or stir up issues which are not currently being considered? Another obstacle is that of resources and funding. Resources are usually scarce and rarely allocated to such research.

Awareness of the benefits of using social assessment in this way needs to be raised, along with encouraging a sense of social responsibility amongst those who operate projects/facilities in communities. The concept of social responsibility is not new, but is still in its infancy. In terms of funding, operators need to be encouraged to allocate funding for this type of ongoing assessment, and operators and researchers need to consider funding contributions from other sources – such as the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology.

Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank those who have made this thesis possible. First of all, thank you to the Department of Corrections. Without their permission and support, the prison research and this thesis would not have been possible. Thank you to all the community members and prison staff who willingly and enthusiastically participated in the prison research. Thank you to Taylor Baines & Associates, especially James Baines, Nick Taylor, Brigid Buckenham and Erik Norder for their contributions, support, and patience. Lastly, a special thank you to Evelyn, Andrew and Les for their invaluable support throughout this research.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Timeline of prison development in New Zealand

Prison	Opened	Closed
Napier	1862	1993
Addington	1870	1999
New Plymouth	1880	
Mt Eden	1889	
Dunedin	1896	
Invercargill	1910	
Waikeria	1918	
Wanganui City	1919	1999
Christchurch	1925	
Wellington	1925	
Arohata	1944	
Rolleston	1962	
Rimutaka	1967	
Auckland	1968	
Tongiriro/Rangipo	1968	
Ohura	1971	
Christchurch Womens	1974	
Manawatu	1977	
Wanganui	1978	
Hawkes Bay Regional	1989	
Auckland Remand	2000	

As the exact opening dates for some of these prisons are difficult to access, the opening dates used here best reflect the current buildings on each prison site.

Source: Morgan and Baines 2001a, p. 27.

Appendix 2: Prison staff interviewed in each case study

Rolleston Prison

Operations Manager of Sentenced Inmates
Property Services Manager
Corrlands representative
Corrlands Inmate Employment, Tailor Shop Manager
Corrlands Inmate Employment, Horticulture Manager
Corrlands Inmate Employment, Nursery Manager
Prison Cultural Advisor
Prison Chaplain
Prison Officer
Finance representative

Rimutaka Prison

Site Manager
Superintendent
Custodial Support Unit Manager
Regional Maori Services Development Advisor
Maori Focus Unit Manager
Property Services Manager
Youth Unit Manager
Corrlands Inmate Employment, Site Manager
Health Services Manager
Manager Client Services
Inmate Movements Co-ordinator
Chaplain
Social Worker
Crime Prevention Officer

Violent Offenders Unit, Principal Corrections Officer

Team Payroll leader

Prison Staff Training College Employee

Hawkes Bay Prison

Site Manager

Property Services Manager

Corrlands Inmate Employment, Regional Manager Central Region

Corrlands Inmate Employment, Site Manager Hawkes Bay

Corrlands Inmate Employment, Horticulture Manager

Corrlands Inmate Employment, Timber Processing Manager

Corrlands Site Co-ordinator/ Release to Work Officer

Regional Advisor for Maori Service Development

Whanau Liaison Worker

Kaumatua for Maori Focus Unit

Maori Focus Unit Manager

Acting Social Worker (& Kuia)

Prison Chaplain

Youth Unit Manager

Crime Prevention Officer

Client Services Manager

Supply Officer

Physical Training Instructor

Head Nurse

Wanganui Prison

Acting Site Manager/Quality Assurance Manager

Property Services Manager

Corrections Inmate Employment Site Manager

Corrections Inmate Employment Concrete and Timber Processing Manager

Regional Advisor Maori Services Department

Prison Chaplains

At Risk Unit Manager

Self Care and Maori Focus Unit Manager

Crime Prevention Officer

Staff Clerk

Purchasing Clerk

Social Worker

Nurse

Appendix 3: Community interviews carried out in each case study

Rolleston Prison

Rolleston Community Board member
Rolleston Residents' Association representative
Rolleston Community Centre manager
Rolleston Police officer
Rolleston Primary School secretary
Rolleston Primary School teacher
Rolleston businessman and developer
'Rolly Inn' proprietor
Burnham Primary School principal
Burnham Military Camp commandant
Burnham Military Camp supermarket manager
Selwyn District Council's Technical Information Officer
Community Probation Services representative
Prisoner Aid and Rehabilitation Services (PARS) representative
PILLARS representative
Prisoner Fellowship representative

Rimutaka Prison

Member of the Orongomai Marae
Trentham Army Camp Commandant
Trentham Army Camp Range Warden
Trentham Golf Course Manager
Ex Caretaker at the Central Institute of Technology (CIT)
Ex Academic Registrar at the CIT
Housing New Zealand Representative
Trentham Primary School Secretary

Fergusson Intermediate Secretary
 Heretaunga College Secretary
 Upper Hutt College Principal
 Silverstream School Secretary
 Hutt International Boys School Deputy Principal
 Police Dog School Employee (second in charge)
 Prisoner Aid and Rehabilitation Society (PARS) Representative
 Prisoner Fellowship Co-ordinator
 Upper Chatsworth Neighbourhood Support Group Spokesperson
 Blue Mountain Road Progressive Association Secretary
 Detective Sergeant, Intell Section, Upper Hutt Police
 Traffic Police, Upper Hutt
 Summerset Retirement Centre (Trentham) Office Manager
 Trentham Racecourse/Wellington Racing Club Caretaker
 EDS International employee
 Caltex Trentham Petrol Attendant
 Upper Hutt City Council Planning Manager
 Community Probation Service Manager

Hawkes Bay Prison

Bridge Pa School Principal
 Paki Paki Primary School Principal
 Paki Paki Primary School Kaumatua
 Local businessman
 Hastings Golf Club
 Hawkes Bay Golf Club
 Hawkes Bay Racecourse
 Kimi Ora Community School
 Hastings Police, Detective Inspector
 Hastings Police, Senior Sergeant Station Supervisor

Flaxmere Community Constable
Hastings Police, Iwi Liaison Officer
Prisoner Aid and Rehabilitation Services (PARS) representative
Prisoner Fellowship Area Co-ordinator
Hastings District Council, Team Leader Environmental Planning
Hastings District Council, Development Planner
Hastings District Council, Neighbourhood Support Group Co-ordinator
Hastings District Council, Horticulture Officer
Hastings District Council, Drainage Engineer
Hastings District Council, Safer Community Council representative
Hawkes Bay Regional Council, Drainage Engineer
Hawkes Bay Regional Council, Consents and Monitoring Officer
Property Consultant
LJ Hooker Real Estate Agent
Private accommodation provider for ex-inmates
Forestry consultant

Wanganui Prison

Kaitoke Primary School Principal
Whangaehu Primary School Principal
Kaitoke Residents Group Co-ordinator
Scoutlands Caretaker
Scoutlands President
Collegiate Sports Co-ordinator
Wanganui Water Ski Club
Tupoho Whanau Trust Co-ordinator
Wanganui Concrete Manufacturer
Wanganui Police Detective Inspector
Wanganui Police Intel Detective Sergeant
Prisoner Aid and Rehabilitation Services (PARS) Senior Fieldworker

Wanganui District Council Senior Planner

Wanganui District Council Community Development Manager

Horizons.mw Consents and Monitoring Officer

Fish and Game Taranaki Manager

Forestry Consultant

Real Estate Agents

Department of Conservation Officer

Co-ordinator of Users of Lake Wairua Group

Gun Club President

Wanganui Airport Fire Safety Officer